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**AMERICANISM
AND
PREPAREDNESS**

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Office of
Theodore Roosevelt

January 26, 1917.

My dear Mr. Rowell:

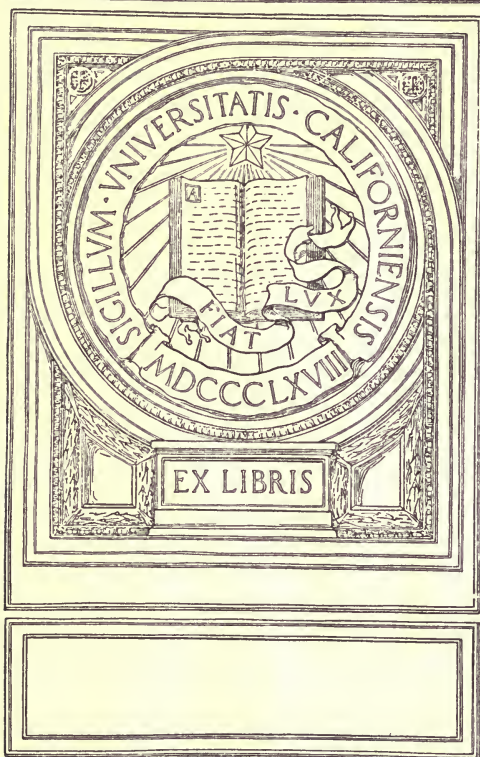
As you and I looked at our duty alike last year, I beg you to accept a copy of the speeches I made during the campaign, with my sincere good wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Theodore Roosevelt

Chester H. Rowell, Esq.,
Fresno, Calif.

IN MEMORIAM
Chester Harvey Rowell







AMERICANISM AND PREPAREDNESS

Speeches
of
Theodore Roosevelt

July to November, 1916

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DUTY FIRST

Lewiston, Maine, August 31, 1916

I COME here to Maine to advocate the election of Charles E. Hughes as President of the United States, and the election of a Senate and House of Representatives to support him, and to give some of the reasons why in my judgment it would be a grave misfortune for the people of the United States to re-elect Mr. Wilson.

I make no merely partisan appeal. I ask the support of all good citizens for our cause. I ask the support of all good Americans. And I not merely ask, but demand as a matter of right, that every citizen voting this year shall consider the question at issue from the standpoint of America, and not from the standpoint of any other nation.

The root idea of American citizenship, the necessary prerequisite for patriotic service at home, and for service to mankind at large, is that there shall be in our citizenship no dual allegiance. There must be no divided loyalty between this country and the country from which any of our citizens, or the ancestors of any of our citizens, have come. The policy of the United States must be shaped with a view to two conditions only: first, with a view to the honor and interest of the United States, and second, with a view to the interest of the world as a whole. It is therefore our high and solemn duty, both to prepare our own strength so as to guarantee our own safety, and also to treat every foreign nation, in any given crisis, as its conduct in that crisis demands. The citizen who does not so act, and who endeavors to shape America's policy in the interest of the country from which he or his ancestors have sprung, is no true American, and has no moral right to citizenship in this country. Any attempt to organize American citizens along politico-racial lines is a foul and evil thing. Any organization of American citizens which acts in the interest of a foreign power is

guilty of moral treason to the Republic. It is because of such action that I condemn those professional German-Americans who in our politics act as servants and allies of Germany, not as Americans interested solely in the honor and welfare of America; and I would condemn just as quickly English-Americans or French-Americans or Irish-Americans who acted in such manner.

Americanism is a matter of the spirit, of the soul, of the mind; not of birthplace or creed. We care nothing as to where any man was born, or as to the land from which his forefathers came, so long as he is wholeheartedly and in good faith an American and nothing else. If the man is a good American we care nothing as to his creed, whether he be Protestant, Catholic or Jew; we care nothing whether his ancestors came over in the Mayflower, or whether he himself was born in England or Ireland, in France or Germany, in Scandinavia or Russia. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were men who were born abroad; and in every great period of American history, the Americans who deserved best of their country have included men of different creeds; men whose ancestors had for generations lived on this soil; and other men who themselves, or whose parents, had come from some of the lands of the Old World. But all these men alike acted as Americans and nothing else, and with an undivided loyalty to this nation, and not with a half-loyalty to this nation and a half-loyalty to some Old World nation.

Wilson Lacked Both Courage and Vision

During the last two years we have seen an evil revival in this country of non-American and anti-American division along politico-racial lines; and we owe this primarily to the fact that President Wilson has lacked the courage and the vision to lead this nation in the path of high duty, and by this lack of affirmative leadership has loosened the moral fibre of our people, has weakened our national spirit, and has encouraged the upgrowth within our own borders of separatism along the lines of racial origin. When our own government so acted as to bring shame on all our people, it shook the spirit of loyalty among those to whom it was

vital that loyalty should be taught. Full-hearted allegiance is shattered by the government that fails to uphold the honor and interest of the nation by immediate and effective action when the lives of its citizens are menaced or taken by foreign powers.

The cause of preparedness is inseparably connected with the cause of Americanism, of patriotism, of whole-hearted loyalty to this nation and to all for which all the great men of this nation in the past have stood. The events of the last two years have made it evident that the dreams of the professional pacifists were not merely dreams but nightmares, so far as the unfortunate nations who trusted them were concerned. Moreover, in practice these pacifists have shown not only utter futility but moral baseness. They have not only been helpless to defend themselves, but they have been so anxious to save their own skins that they have not dared to say one word against triumphant wrong and in favor of the right that was crushed by the wrong. There are few things more revolting than such an attitude when taken by professional moralists.

As the world now is, our great free democracy must understand that unless it can protect itself by its own strength—and its strength is not strength at all unless it is carefully trained in advance—it will sooner or later suffer the fate that China is suffering before our eyes. Thanks to the fact that President Wilson has sometimes led us wrong, and sometimes not led us at all, and that at the best he has merely followed afar off when convinced that it was politically safe to do so, we are at this moment no more prepared to defend ourselves than we were two years ago when the world war broke out. At last we have begun the work of restoring our navy to the position it formerly held; but it will take years to undo the harm done when in 1910 the Democratic party gained control of the House and stopped upbuilding the navy; and it is entirely impossible to make the navy what it should be made as long as we have a President who appoints and retains at its head a public official of the type of Mr. Daniels. Our regular army should be increased to a quarter of a million men, with a short-service term of enlistment; this would give us a mobile army

of 125,000 men, enough to patrol the Mexican border without help from the National Guard, when Mr. Wilson halts between feeble peace and feeble war. But this is not enough. The events of the past two years have shown that no people can permanently preserve its freedom unless that people is trained to arms. Above all, this is true of a democracy. The enjoyment of right must go hand in hand with the performance of duty. Universal suffrage cannot be justified unless it connotes the performance by every voter of full duty to the state both in peace and in war. The man who refuses to fit himself to fight in righteous war for his country is not fit to vote in that country. We should follow the examples of the free democracies of Switzerland and Australia. There should be in this country a system of universal obligatory military training in time of peace, and in time of war universal service in whatever capacity the man or woman shall be judged most fit to serve the commonwealth.

An Injustice to Pontius Pilate

The policies of Americanism and preparedness, taken together, mean applied patriotism. There should be correlation of policy and armament. Our first duty as citizens of the United States is owed to the United States. But if we are true to our principles we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large. In addition to serving our own country we must shape the policy of our country so as to secure the cause of international righteousness, fair play and humanity. Our first duty is to protect our own rights; our second, to stand up for the rights of others. President Wilson has signally failed to perform either duty. They can be performed only by deed. Words alone are useless. But, above all, fine words about abstract qualities which are contradicted by unworthy deeds in concrete cases are much worse than useless, because they teach us habits of hypocrisy, and because they cause other nations to regard us with utter contempt. President Wilson in his Decoration Day speech said: "We hold dear the principle that small and weak states have as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and strong nations." These were the fine words. They were spoken about the abstract. When

it became his duty to reduce them to deeds in the concrete, Mr. Wilson immediately flinched. The case of Belgium exactly met his definition. It was a small and weak state (and a highly civilized and well-behaved state). Its "right to sovereignty and independence" was trampled under foot by a neighboring "large and strong nation." But as soon as the need for deeds arose, Mr. Wilson forgot all about "the principle he held dear." He promptly announced that we should be "neutral in fact as well as in name, in thought as well as in action," between the small, weak, unoffending nation and the large, strong nation which was robbing it of its sovereignty and independence. Such neutrality has been compared to the neutrality of Pontius Pilate. This is unjust to Pontius Pilate, who at least gently urged moderation on the wrongdoers. The President's fine words were used merely to cloak ignoble action and ignoble inaction. All Americans proud of their country should keenly resent the wrong he thereby did their country. As an American with exceptional international knowledge has said: ". . . A single official expression by the Government of the United States, a single sentence denying assent and recording disapproval of what Germany did in Belgium, would have given to the people of America that leadership to which they were entitled in their earnest groping for the light. It would have ranged behind American leadership the conscience and morality of the neutral world. It would have brought to American diplomacy the respect and strength of loyalty to a great cause. But it was not to be. The American Government failed to rise to the demands of the great occasion. . . ."

Wilson's "Peace" Rages Furiously in Mexico

At this moment Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson's fuglemen, advance as his greatest claim that "he has kept us out of war." This claim can be seriously made only by individuals who endorse President Wilson's belief that deeds are nothing, and words everything. War means a clash between the armed forces of two countries. Nowadays (thanks quite as much to the professional pacifists as to the militarists) it means, furthermore, the destruction

of the lives of civilians, and the property of civilians, as well as the property of the government. Under President McKinley we had a war with Spain. Under President Wilson we are assured that we have had "peace" with Mexico. These are the words. Now for the deeds. During the war with Spain fewer Americans were killed by the Spaniards than have been killed by Mexicans during the present "peace" with Mexico. Let me repeat this. A greater number of Americans have been killed by Mexicans during these years, when we are officially informed that we have been at peace with them, than were killed by the Spaniards during our entire war with Spain. Moreover, when the war with Spain was through, it was through. But peace still continues to rage as furiously as ever in Mexico. Nor is this all. The instant effect of the outcome of the war with Spain was to put a stop to the dreadful butchery and starvation in Cuba and the Philippines, and the entry of both Cuba and the Philippines on a career of eighteen years of peace and prosperity such as they have never known before in all their checkered history. But during these three years of Mr. Wilson's "peace," the Mexicans themselves have been butchered by their own bandits steadily and without intermission; and Mexican women and children have died by thousands—probably by scores of thousands—of starvation, and of the diseases incident to starvation. In other words, Mr. McKinley's war cost less bloodshed than Mr. Wilson's peace; and it reflected high honor on the American people; whereas Mr. Wilson's peace has been one of shame and dishonor for the American people, and one of ruin and bloodshed for the Mexicans themselves.

The Life Cost of Wilson's "Peace"

Mr. Wilson says we have had peace with Mexico. He says he did not wage war with Mexico. If he takes any comfort out of this denial, let us not insist upon the proper terminology, and admit that he merely waged peace with Mexico. Well, as one incident of his waging peace we took Vera Cruz. Some seventy-five men wearing the American

uniform were killed and wounded, and three or four times that number of Mexicans. In Mr. McKinley's war we took Manila; and Dewey's fleet lost fewer men in the operation that resulted in the fall of Manila than were lost in the taking of Vera Cruz. Under these conditions, of what earthly consequence is it to assert that the taking of Vera Cruz was an act of peace, and the taking of Manila an act of war? Only by a misuse of terminology, only by the use of an incorrect nomenclature, can we distinguish one military operation from the other.

Unlike McKinley, Wilson Quit

The real difference was that Mr. Wilson became frightened and abandoned Vera Cruz, whereas Mr. McKinley did not abandon Manila. Mr. Wilson's operations were war just as much as Mr. McKinley's. But Mr. Wilson was beaten in his war. It was a war which was entered into pointlessly and abandoned ignobly; it was a war which failed; a war which did damage both to the Mexicans and ourselves, and which in its outcome reflected infinite dishonor upon our nation. But it was a war, nevertheless.

Again, in March last, Villa made a raid into American territory. He was a bandit leader whose career of successful infamy had been greatly aided by Mr. Wilson's favor and backing. He was at the head of Mexican soldiers, whose arms and ammunition had been supplied to them in consequence of Mr. Wilson's reversing Mr. Taft's policy and lifting the embargo against arms and munitions into Mexico. They attacked Columbus, New Mexico, and killed a number of civilians and a number of United States troops. On the next day the President issued an announcement that adequate forces would be sent in pursuit of Villa "with the single object of capturing him." On April 8th the announcement was made from the White House that the troops would remain in Mexico until Villa was captured. It was furthermore announced in the press despatches from Washington that he was to be taken "dead or alive." Fine words! Only—they meant nothing. He is not dead. He has not been taken alive.

Wilson's "Peace" Cost More Lives Than McKinley's War

On May 12th, the pursuit of Villa was formally abandoned. On June 1st the official figures of the dead and wounded during this futile expedition were published, and they showed that the killed and wounded included one hundred and sixteen United States soldiers and ninety-five American civilians. Since then the Mexicans have killed many more; I notice, for example, in the press, that at Decatur, Alabama, there has just been buried Claude Bates, an American soldier, who died July 24th of wounds received two days previously in a fight with Mexican bandits. Every week I have seen press statements of the killing of American regular soldiers or American civilians on the border. I do not know the total number of these killings since June 1st; but they include the Carrizal massacre. However, even before June 1st, in this futile expedition against Villa, more Americans had been killed and wounded than in all the fights by land and sea during the Spanish War; save only the battle of Santiago itself. In other words, during this murderous "peace" of Messrs. Wilson and Carranza, in less than three months more American blood was shed than in the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila, and than in the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago; and than in the taking of Manila; and than in the fight at Guasimas; in short, in all the operations combined during the Spanish War, save only the actual battle of Santiago itself. And yet there are persons who seemingly take comfort in speaking of one set of operations as being war, and who praise the other set as being part of our "policy of peace"—the blood-stained peace of Messrs. Wilson and Carranza.

You do not have to accept my statement of conditions in Mexico. Accept the official statement of President Wilson's Secretary of State to Carranza on June 20th last, which runs as follows:

The Ghastly Official Record

"For three years the Mexican republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties accumulated by Amer-

ican capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will throughout the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment, or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war. It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread condition of lawlessness and violence which has prevailed. During the last nine months in particular the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of the frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized. American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed and their equipment and horses stolen, American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered.

"The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso postoffice, and Las Palades, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory Carranzista adherents, and even Carranzista soldiers, took part in the looting, burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated."

Wilson Kissed the Red Hand That Slapped His Face

And this is Mr. Wilson's own official account of the "peace" he has secured in Mexico! In this official state-

ment President Wilson gives the final result of his policy in Mexico for the past three years. I call your attention to the fact that he states that the attacks on the four enumerated American towns in September last were "typical," and says that "in these attacks on American territory there were Carranzista adherents and Carranzista soldiers, who took part in the burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated."

President Wilson therefore explicitly shows that the Carranzistas, not once but repeatedly, made attacks on American towns, and killed American citizens, and mutilated them in September, 1915. Yet on October 19th, 1915, less than a month later, this same President Wilson, through his same Secretary of State, formally announced to Carranza's agent that it was his "pleasure" to take the opportunity "of extending recognition to the de facto government of Mexico, of which General Venustiano Carranza is the chief executive." President Wilson thus recognized the government which, his own Secretary of State declares, had been, less than a month previously, engaged in repeated assaults upon Americans, and in the invasion of American soil; the government at whose head was General Carranza, who, less than two months previously, on August 2nd, 1915, had contemptuously refused to pay any heed to any representations of President Wilson on behalf of mediation, saying that "under no consideration would I permit interference in the internal affairs of Mexico." President Wilson did not merely kiss the hand that slapped him in the face. He kissed that hand when it was red with the blood of American men, women and children, who had been murdered and mutilated with, as President Wilson, through his Secretary of State, says, "ruthless brutality."

Wilson's Shameful Orders at Tampico

In all this shameful history of Mr. Wilson's dealings with Mexico during the past three years, nothing has been more shameful than his conduct at Tampico.

At that time the particular bandit Mr. Wilson was favoring happened to be Villa. This, however, is of no

consequence. Mr. Wilson has sometimes helped the different Mexican leaders of bandits against one another; now Villa against Huerta; now Carranza against Villa; but he has never stood up effectively for American rights against any of them. When he has ventured to take action against any of them he has always hastily abandoned the attempt as soon as the resistance by the bandit involved became serious.

At Tampico there was a general movement of attack by the Mexicans on Americans and other foreigners. We had a squadron of American warships in the neighborhood. President Wilson did not use this squadron to defend the lives of American men, and the honor of American women, and the commanders of the German and English ships at Tampico had to step in and perform the task our representatives had so basely abandoned. At the very time that the Mexican mob had surrounded the building in which the Americans had taken refuge, and was howling for their blood, the American fleet, under orders to join the futile attack on Vera Cruz, steamed away and left the Americans to be massacred by the Mexicans, or rescued by the Germans and English. I wish to say with all gravity and in all seriousness that in this case the offense of the murderous Mexican mob was not as serious as the offense of the American administration.

Watched Americans Die Like Rats

On August 27th, 1913, President Wilson said with marked oratorical effect: "We shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away from Mexico." "Vigilant watching"—"watchful waiting"—the phrase matters nothing; for there never is any deed to back it up. Three years have passed since the date of this oration; three years of incessant elocution on the part of Mr. Wilson; three years of repeated invocations to humanity and peace by Mr. Wilson; and Mr. Wilson still continues to "vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away." There are not many of them left now. Hundreds have been killed, and Mr. Wilson has watched their fortunes as disinterestedly as if they had

been rats pursued by terriers. This administration has displayed no more feeling of responsibility for the American women who have been raped, and for the American men, women and children who have been killed in Mexico, than a farmer shows for the rats killed by his dogs when the hay is taken from a barn. And now the American people are asked to sanction this policy in the name of peace, righteousness and humanity!

A Single-Track Mind With Great Switching Facilities

Throughout this time President Wilson, in pursuance of the policy he enunciated in his message to Congress in December, 1914, has kept this country unprepared to fight any foreign foe. But he has allowed all of the factions in Mexico to prepare themselves to kill American soldiers and American civilians. In his message above quoted he says that he will "Follow the best practice of nations in matters of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms and munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico." This was on August 27th, 1913. On February 2nd, 1914, he changed his mind (Mr. Wilson may have a single-track mind, but, as has been remarked, in that event he possesses unexampled switching facilities) and lifted the embargo on arms and munitions. On February 5th the papers published the news of the great rush of arms and ammunition across the border to the Mexican armies. A couple of hundred of American soldiers, sailors, and civilians were killed or wounded during the next two months. And on April 23rd, 1914, Mr. Wilson again changed his mind and ordered that the embargo on arms be restored. But on May 15th he changed his mind again, and the embargo was lifted so far as shipments to Tampico and other Mexican ports were concerned. On May 27th, the cargoes of arms which we had refused to allow to land at Vera Cruz were accordingly landed elsewhere and sent to Huerta; while on June 2nd, the Carranzistas got theirs through Tampico. On September 9th, the embargo was lifted everywhere, and during the next few months military supplies of all kinds crossed the border for all of the Mexican factions.

At Least 276 Americans Murdered

On October 29th, 1915, when all the factions had been amply supplied, Mr. Wilson again restored the embargo as to all factions, excepting the Carranzistas. On October 29th last, therefore, Mr. Wilson specifically permitted arms to be sent the adherents of the very same Carranza, who, according to his own Secretary of State, in the month of September, thirty days previous, on four specific occasions, invaded American territory and butchered American citizens, mutilating them before or after death. On the date when this embargo was thus raised, the names of two hundred and seventy-six Americans who had been murdered had been officially placed on file. How many others had been murdered cannot at present be told.

President Wilson took Vera Cruz in 1914, as we were officially informed at the time, to get a salute for the flag, and to prevent the shipment of arms into Mexico. He did not get his salute. He did not prevent the shipment of arms. But several hundred men were killed or wounded; and then he brought the army home without achieving either object. President Wilson sent an army into Mexico in 1916, as we were informed at the time, to get Villa "dead or alive." They did not get him dead. They did not get him alive. Again several hundred men were killed or wounded. Again President Wilson is bringing the army home without achieving his object. Of course it is a mere play upon words to say that these were not "wars." They were wars, and nothing else; ignoble, pointless, unsuccessful little wars; but wars. They cost millions of dollars and hundreds of lives, squandered to no purpose; they accomplished nothing; but they were wars. And yet Mr. Wilson's defenders say that he "has kept us out of war." As a matter of fact, his policy in Mexico has combined all the evils of feeble peace with all the evils of feeble war. He has secured none of the benefits of war; but he has not avoided war. He has sacrificed the honor and the interest of the country; but he has not received the thirty pieces of silver. In fact, when Mr. Wilson forgets himself he admits that we have been at war; for example, on May 11th, 1914, in an address over the dead ma-

rines at the Navy Yard in Brooklyn (in which, by the way, he in effect claimed sympathy on the ground that his feelings had been as much lacerated by sneers as the bodies of the dead men by bullets), he said that the marines had been engaged in a "war of service." A war of service to whom or what? Certainly not to the United States; nor to Mexico; nor to humanity at large. Was it to Mr. Wilson?

Wilson's Futile Spasms

As it is with "war" so it is with "intervention." President Wilson has again and again said he would not "intervene" in Mexico. As a matter of fact, he has intervened continuously. On January 8th, 1915, he announced that the Mexicans had the right to "spill blood," to spill as much blood as they pleased, without interference. The fact that the blood they were spilling included the blood of American citizens, both soldiers and civilians—and among them women and children—evidently did not weigh with him. On December 10th, 1915, he said that it was "None of our business what the Mexicans did with their government, and so long as I have the power to prevent it nobody shall butt-in to alter it for them." Yet at that very time he had been "butting-in" for two years, and he has been "butting-in" ever since; and he has avowed that he wished to alter it for them in all kinds of ways, from land tenures up and down. But as he never followed any policy of either intervention or non-intervention with any resolution—always yielding at the critical moment to some bandit chief of whom he became fearful—both his spasms of intervention and his spasms of non-intervention have alike been entirely futile. In August, 1913, he sent a special envoy to Mexico to tell Huerta he would not recognize him. He announced this himself in a note in October, and on December 2nd he announced he would not deal with the Huerta Government. This was intervention, and nothing else; it was such intervention as if in 1877 some European government had declined to recognize Hayes as President, and insisted upon the seating of Tilden. Mr. Wilson intervened when he backed Villa against Huerta. He intervened when he turned against Villa, and recognized Carranza.

At one time Mr. Wilson's policy of intervention produced such unhappy results that on June 2nd, 1915, he issued a formal warning to the Mexican factions in which he said that "Mexico is apparently no nearer a solution of her tragical troubles than she was when the revolution was first kindled. She has been swept by civil war as if by fire. Her crops are destroyed, her cattle confiscated, her people flee to the mountains to escape being drawn into unavailing bloodshed, and no man seems to see or lead the way to peace and settled order. There is no proper protection either for her own citizens or for the citizens of other nations resident and at work within her territory. Mexico is starving and without a government." A delightful picture of the effects of Mr. Wilson's policy, by the way! He therefore tells Mexico that unless "within a very short time" the Mexican leaders get together for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country the United States "will be constrained to decide what means should be employed" to deal with the situation. But, as usual with Mr. Wilson, this solemn warning meant precisely and exactly nothing, and the Carranzistas and Villistas and the rest knew that it meant precisely nothing. They knew that Mr. Wilson would either not back up his words by deeds at all or else that he would back them up so feebly that by a sufficient show of resistance he could be forced to abandon his purpose.

Some of the defenders of Mr. Wilson, in answer to Mr. Hughes' merciless indictment of Mr. Wilson's course, have sought to justify Mr. Wilson by attempting to turn the whole issue on the character of Huerta, who was the de facto President when Mr. Wilson became President of the United States. They ask Mr. Hughes, "Would you have recognized Huerta?" The answer is that any one of several courses could have been adopted, provided only that the course adopted had been followed with resolution and with full acceptance of the responsibility involved.

Wilson Wobbled Between Two Policies

There was much to be said in favor of the policy of recognizing Huerta and avoiding intervention. There was also much to be said in favor of the policy of refusing to

recognize Huerta, which was intervention, and then of fully accepting the responsibility implied in intervention. But there is nothing to be said in favor of wobbling between the two policies, and neither recognizing Huerta nor accepting the responsibility for the chaos caused by failure to recognize him. Yet this was the course Mr. Wilson followed.

There was no excuse for the recognition of Carranza in view of Mr. Wilson's failure to recognize Huerta. All the objections to Huerta applied with greater force to Carranza. Mr. Wilson's apologists say that Huerta was the murderer of Mexicans. But Mr. Wilson himself, as quoted above, has shown that Carranza was the murderer of Americans. Therefore, Mr. Wilson treats the murder of Mexicans as a bar to recognition; but not the murder of both Americans and Mexicans. And now, having condoned the repeated murders of Americans by the Carranzistas, and having abased himself before Carranza, and having aided in placing Carranza in power, what is Mr. Wilson's reward? and who pays it? The reward is that Mr. Wilson has to place 150,000 troops on the border to partially prevent the raids and murders that his friend Mr. Carranza will not or can not prevent; and the payment is made by the soldiers who are slain and by the families of the guardsmen who go in want because their husbands and fathers have been called to the border to make good Mr. Wilson's refusal to let the regular army administer such punishment to the bandits as to inspire in them a healthy fear. Instead, Mr. Wilson's course has been such as to encourage them into a feeling of boastful impunity. Mr. Wilson's course has been precisely like that of a police commissioner who declined to permit his policemen to use their night sticks against burglars, and instead insisted that the householders should sit up all night so as to scare the burglars away.

If You Must Hit, Hit Hard

It should be a cardinal rule of conduct in international, as in individual, affairs never to hit if hitting can possibly be avoided; but never under any circumstances to hit soft. Mr. Wilson has been engaged in continual hitting. But he has always hit soft. And whenever his opponent has hit

back he has promptly dropped his arms, stopped hitting, and taken refuge in platitudes about peace, non-intervention and humanity. Where, however, his opponent was sufficiently weak, as in the case of Haiti, he has dropped these platitudes, and has (with "blood-spilling") intervened. Haiti did not behave as badly to us as Mexico behaved; but Mr. Wilson intervened, fought the Haitians, shedding their blood and the blood of our troops, took possession, and now has our armed forces in control of Haiti and directing its government. His course of action in Haiti can be defended only if his course of action in Mexico is unqualifiedly condemned! for such action was far more needed in Mexico than in Haiti. But there was a difference in the two cases; and to Mr. Wilson it was a vital difference. Haiti was weaker than Mexico. No one was afraid of Haiti.

It is not a pleasant task to point out these lamentable failures in our foreign policy during the last few years. If they were unimportant to the nation, if they only affected Mr. Wilson personally, I would gladly keep silent about them. If they were isolated and exceptional, I would pass them by. But they are typical of the policy of drift to which this nation has been committed during these great and terrible years when we have needed at the helm a firmer hand than at any other time since the Civil War. If the policy of drift is sanctioned by the nation, and is permitted for a sufficient length of time, we shall surely face national shipwreck.

Wilson's Policy Is One of Drift and Spineless Failure

We are told that the mass of the voters, the mass of the American people, will approve the policy of the Administration, the policy of drift, the policy of spineless failure to do our duty to ourselves and to others because they believe in "safety first." Such being the case, it is worth while examining just what "safety" or "safety first" means, and how far a policy based only on considerations of safety is materially advantageous and morally justifiable.

Safety First

To treat "safety" as an indispensable element of any continuous national policy is eminently proper. It is indis-

pensable to wisdom that we shall shape our military policy so as to make ourselves—our home country, our canal zone, all our islands—absolutely safe against successful attack by any great European or Asiatic military power. *To this extent safety coincides with duty.* But this ultimate safety in the future is to be obtained, not by shirking, but by performing, our duty in the present. When President Wilson two years ago assured the American nation that there was no need for preparedness, no need for worry about our military shortcomings, no need for self-sacrifice and effort in order to make good these shortcomings, he was sacrificing our future safety to considerations of momentary political popularity obtained by pandering to popular desire for the enjoyment of material ease, and the avoidance of effort and of serious facing of duties. Mr. Wilson then put “safety first” as compared to duty; but he put it last as compared to momentary enjoyment of ease and material pleasures, and lazy refusal to face facts. I hold that this was exactly the reverse of what he ought to have done. I hold that it is our clear duty to sacrifice some of our present ease and soft enjoyment of material things in order to guarantee our future national safety. I hold that we should provide for the ample safeguarding of the heritage which our fathers left us and which our children should receive from us undiminished. I therefore believe, as I have before said, that not only should we provide a big and efficient navy and a small and efficient regular army, but that we should also provide for a system of obligatory military training of our young men, on the Swiss and Australian models. With all my heart I believe in insuring the safety that can only come through the full performance of duty, by the exercise of courage and forethought under the compulsion of a high sense of honor and patriotism.

This Is No Time for Flabby Ease

But this is not in the least what Mr. Wilson’s advocates mean when they ask us to support him, because he and they are for “safety first.” They are for the unworthy safety that is merely obtained by the abandonment of duty. They are for the momentary safety which shortsighted men secure when they purchase escape from present risk and

effort at the cost of future disaster. They are for the "safety" of each man to spend his time in money-making and in flabby ease, at the cost of remaining untrained and unfit to render service to the nation in the nation's hour of need. They are for the mean safety which this nation secured when it treated The Hague Conventions, which it had signed, like scraps of paper and declined to make even a protest on behalf of tortured Belgium. They are for the safety this nation temporarily secured by tame submission to the murder of its men, women and children on land by Mexican bandits, and at sea in the *Lusitania* and similar cases by German submarines. This kind of "safety first" means duty last, honor last, courage last. I do not believe in it. I believe that it is obtained at the cost of moral degradation in the present and at the risk of national ruin in the future.

In Maine there are many seafaring folks. I can illustrate what I mean about the use and abuse of the word safety by the life-saving service. This is a service especially designed to secure greater safety for ships' crews, and generally for persons whose lives are imperiled on the water. It is a service to secure safety. But the safety is secured only because some brave men are willing to risk their own lives in order to save other lives. They do not put "safety first," as far as they themselves are concerned. If they did, no lifeboat would ever be launched from a life-saving station. But the men on a sinking ship who crowd into the life-boats ahead of the women and children do put "safety first." I will say this for them, however: Whenever they get ashore they do not wear buttons to commemorate the feat—as some of our opponents in the present campaign do.

Life-saving medals are granted every year. Each medal means that a life has been saved; and each means also that in order to save it another life has been put in jeopardy. The "safety first" class does not get such medals. Every life-saving crew is composed of men who are tough, hardy and well-trained. They put safety first as far as self-indulgence, and soft ease, and mere money-getting are concerned; otherwise they would be helpless in a storm. But where duty and safety are concerned, they put duty first and safety last.

Put Duty, Not Safety, First

I wish to see this nation act in similar fashion, both as regards its own safety and as regards the performance of international duty. I wish to see it, by forethought, by effort and hard training, and by the cultivation of a broad and intense feeling of national endeavor and national patriotism, to so develop its courage and its efficient strength as to be able to hold its own against any possible aggression; and then I wish to see it put duty first, not safety first, when any small, well-behaved people is treated as Belgium has been treated. I stand for the safety that is obtained by the performance of duty. I do not stand for the safety that is obtained by the sacrifice of duty.

I believe that when the American people realize that the issue is squarely before them they will put duty first and not safety first; and I believe that only by so doing will they secure real and ultimate safety. I believe that they will support a policy of national action demanding a spirit of national courage. The American people are at heart moral idealists and enthusiasts; and in the past they have again and again responded to some appeal for practical action, calling for idealism to perceive it and enthusiasm and self-devotion in order to achieve it.

The men who came across the ocean in the seventeenth century to found here a new nation were men of courage and energy inspired by idealism and enthusiasm. Under that inspiration they attempted and accomplished the American Revolution; and later entered on the experiment of self-government, founding a new nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal." There were men of little faith among them, men of the "safety first" type, of the professional pacifist type; but in the end our forefathers rejected the leadership of these men, and followed the leadership of Washington.

Since then our population has been swollen by immigration; and our immigrants have generally been men of courage, energy and enterprise; a large proportion have been men of moral enthusiasm. They dared to leave the old world on the chance of starting a new life for themselves and their children under new conditions. On the whole the

men and women who were called to our shores were the picked men and women of their countries. A nation drawing its blood from such sources is fundamentally sound, and in the end it will support a plan which combined practical action with genuine idealism.

Lincoln's Answer in 1860

In 1860 the question whether the American people would allow the indefinite extension of slavery on the American continent became acute. Conservatism said, Let well enough alone; timidity said, Let us have peace; business interests said, Safety first; the spirit of pacifism said, Let us compromise, for the evils of slavery are not to be compared with the evils of civil war and possible dissolution of the Union.

To these arguments, so plausible that apparently they carried the great majority of the Nation and had the support of multitudes of the best men both in church and State, Abraham Lincoln answered in his Cooper Union Speech: "Either slavery is right or wrong; if it is right, we ought to do all that the South asks of us; if it is wrong, we have no right to allow it in the territory under our control." To this principle he adhered through the political campaign which elected him, through the dark and dangerous days of the interregnum after his election, and through all the tragedy of the Civil War. The American people responded to the appeal and sustained in practical fashion the great moral principle Lincoln set forth and embodied. They put duty first and safety second. I do not believe that we of this generation have sunk so far below our sires as to be incapable of responding in similar fashion to a similar appeal.

In 1896 Mr. Bryan initiated the campaign for Free Silver. He was a popular speaker. The arguments for Free Silver were popular, and indeed plausible. They were: Our bonds are payable in coin; why substitute gold? If silver has depreciated, gold has appreciated; why sacrifice the debtor class to the gold bugs? Recognized experts have declared in favor of bi-metallism. Why abandon it? Why ask the consent of Europe to continue it? Why not go it

alone? The simple answer was, It is not right for a nation to pay its debts to the world in anything less than the world's currency. As fairly representing the national conviction which led to the national action, I quote a statement at the time by a noted clergyman: "It is rarely morally wise to do to another what he thinks unjust. It is never morally right to enter on a course of action as to the justice of which the actor is himself in doubt. These principles are as applicable to nations as to individuals." It was right to show that free silver would bring material disaster to the nation; but it was primarily the moral appeal to the conscience of the people which defeated Mr. Bryan in 1896.

Our Duty in Cuba and the Philippines

In 1898 the conditions in Cuba had become unbearable to the American people. When full knowledge was obtained of what had been done in the island it raised in this country a storm of moral indignation which was irresistible. The argument of the pacifists at that time was the same as the argument of the pacifists of to-day. They varied between an unhealthy sentimentality and a still more unhealthy materialism. They said that we were not concerned with the injustice practised by a foreign government on a foreign people; that it was no business of ours; that the Cubans should be permitted to fight their own battles; and that the "blood spilling" in Cuba was not our affair. The answer then was the answer we ought to make now. We *are* our brother's keeper; injustice, whenever and wherever perpetrated, *does* concern us; and whether we act or not, no considerations of self-interest should prevent our legitimate expression of that concern.

Then followed the question of the Philippines. The arguments of the so-called anti-imperialists were much like the arguments of the pacifists of to-day. Again they varied between an unhealthy sentimentality and an even more unhealthy materialism. They said that the Philippines were on the other side of the globe, and would never repay what they cost us in money; that serving the Filipinos would not offset the sacrifice of the lives of American soldiers; and they alternately advocated letting the Germans or Japanese

take the islands, and letting the islanders take care of themselves, and spill as much blood as they desired. The answer was in spirit identical with the answer of Abraham Lincoln to the pacifists of 1860: For we said that we owed a duty to the people we had set free, and would not abandon them to anarchy and chaos. Again we appealed primarily not to the pocket, but to the conscience; not to self-interest, but to the sense of honor, of the American people. Again the appeal was successful.

An Opiate to Idealism

Since 1912 we have had four years of a policy which has been an opiate to the spirit of idealism. It has meant the relaxation of our moral fibre. Horror of war, combined with a sordid appeal to self-interest and to fear, has paralyzed the national conscience. We have been told that Americans, if they do not wish to be killed, should leave Mexico and should keep off the ocean; that to save a few American lives it is not worth while to hazard the lives of American soldiers; that Mexicans should be allowed to spill blood to their hearts' content; that the European War is no concern of ours; that even as between Belgium and Germany we should be neutral not only in act but in sympathy. Not once has President Wilson squarely placed before the American people the question which Abraham Lincoln put before the American people in 1860: What is our duty? Not once has he appealed to moral idealism, to the stern enthusiasm of strong men for the right. On the contrary, he has employed every elocutionary device to lull to sleep our sense of duty, to make us content with words instead of deeds, to make our moral idealism and enthusiasm evaporate in empty phrases instead of being reduced to concrete action. America as a nation has been officially kept in a position of timid indifference and cold selfishness. America, which sprang to the succor of Cuba in 1898, has stood an idle spectator of the invasion of Belgium, of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, of the continued slaughter of our own citizens, and of the reign of anarchy, rapine and murder in Mexico.

American Rights and American Duty Were Relegated

Nevertheless I believe that the American people were ready for the same kind of appeal which was made to them by Abraham Lincoln in 1860, by the advocates of an honest currency in 1896, by the advocates of the Spanish War in 1898, by the advocates of Nationalism in 1900. But the appeal was not made. On the contrary, Mr. Wilson invoked the spirit of timidity and selfishness. He made no effort to invoke the sense of duty. He put "safety first," the immediate safety of the moment, to be obtained by shrinking from duty. He did not even put American rights first, still less did he put American duty first.

Wilson Could Have Averted Massacre and Rapine

His task was not an especially difficult or dangerous task; but it needed a brave heart and a steady hand. Under his lead America could and should have put itself at the head of all the neutral nations, by its example if not by direct diplomatic agreements, in demanding that the war should be conducted in accordance with the usage of civilized nations, that international law should be observed, that the rights of neutrals and non-combatants should be respected. If this spirit had animated our administration there would probably have been no invasion of Belgium, no fears of a like fate to terrorize other smaller nations, no torpedoing of merchant vessels, no bombarding of churches and hospitals, no massacreing of women and children, no murder of Miss Cavell, no attempted extermination of the Armenians and Syrian Christians. We cannot undo what has been done. But we can repudiate what has been done. We can regain our own self-respect and the respect of other nations for this country. We can put in power an administration which will throughout its term of power protect our own citizens and live up to our national obligations.

It is just that this nation should concern itself with its rights; but it is even more necessary that it should concern itself with its duties. As between Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson, who can doubt which is the man who will with austere courage stand for the national duty? Mr. Wilson's words have contradicted one another; and all his words have

been contradicted by his acts. Mr. Wilson's promise has not borne the slightest reference to his performance. We have against him in Mr. Hughes a man whose public life is a guarantee that whatever he says he will make good, and that all his words will be borne out by his deeds. Against Mr. Wilson's combination of grace in elocution with futility in action; against his record of words unbacked by deeds or betrayed by deeds, we set Mr. Hughes' rugged and uncompromising straightforwardness of character and action in every office he has held. We put the man who thinks and speaks directly, and whose words have always been made good, against the man whose adroit and facile elocution is used to conceal his plans or his want of plans. The next four years may well be years of tremendous national strain. Which of the two men do you, the American people, wish at the helm during these four years; the man who has been actually tried and found wanting, or the man whose whole career in public office is a guarantee of his power and good faith? But one answer is possible; and it must be given by the American people through the election of Charles Evans Hughes as President of the United States.

WORDS AND DEEDS

Battle Creek, Michigan, September 30, 1916

AT the outset I wish to say a word as to the protests now made by so many people that we must not criticize the President. The newspapers and individuals making these protests are, for the most part, the very ones who and which when I was President spread every species of calumny and slander about me. I then, as President, took the view that no one had a right to speak untruthfully of the President or of anyone else, but that even less than anyone else ought the President to escape from truthful criticism. I never complained of any attack on me unless it was false, and if it was false, and the man making it was important enough, I clearly showed its falsity. I apply to others only the standard by which I asked that I myself be treated. It is the standard explicitly set in reference to myself by Mr. Charles Bonaparte on May 2, 1902, in his speech to the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland. Speaking of me, the then President, he said: "Give him Hail Columbia (not to speak of any thing less suitable for public mention) when he does aught that savors of that abuse of public trust for personal or party ends which he has himself so often and so strenuously condemned; if he is the man some of us think him, he will think all the better of us for doing this; but whatever he or anybody else may think, it is the right thing for us to do, and we have no business here, this Association and its fellows have no warrant for further existence, unless we are ready to do it. Moreover, although we should, so far as may be practicable in reason, learn all material facts bearing on the conduct of a public servant before we blame him, there is no call for encyclopædic research into minute details to justify outspoken censure, when this appears, on a fair, sober, second thought, well deserved. It is the President's duty, no less than it was

Mrs. Cæsar's, to escape reasonable suspicion of wrongdoing; should he or any other official tell us: 'If you knew the facts, you wouldn't blame me,' we have a ready answer: 'Give us the facts, and we'll see.' "

I at the time emphatically endorsed this position of Mr. Bonaparte's, who himself later served in my Cabinet. His attitude was the proper one to take towards the then President; and it is the proper one to take towards the present President.

I never uttered one word of criticism of President Wilson until a year and a half after he was elected President. If he had stood by the honor and the interest of the American people, I would have thrown up my hat for him, and would have supported him heart and soul. I not merely kept silent during the first eighteen months; I tried actively to support him. The only errors I have made in connection with Mr. Wilson were due to incautiously accepting his statements and supporting his policies in the effort to "stand by the President." It was with deep reluctance that I was forced to the conclusion that the effort to stand by him was incompatible with standing by the interests of mankind and the honor of this nation. But in my view there was no alternative for any honorable man, when once I became convinced, as I am convinced, that the conscience of this people has been seared, and its moral sense dulled, by the leadership of the Administration and of Congress during the last three years. These false servants of the people have taught us to enjoy soft ease and swollen wealth in the present without taking one effective step to ward off ruinous disaster in the future. These false servants of the people have betrayed the soul of the nation.

We Had War Under Washington and Lincoln

The supporters of Mr. Wilson say that the American people should vote for him because he has kept us out of war. It is worth while to remember that this is a claim that cannot be advanced either on behalf of Washington or of Lincoln. Neither Washington nor Lincoln kept us out of war. Americans, and the people of the world at large, now reverence the memories of these two men, because, and

only because, they put righteousness before peace. They abhorred war. They shunned unjust or wanton or reckless war. But they possessed that stern valor of patriotism which bade them put duty first, not safety first; which bade them accept war rather than an unrighteous and disastrous peace. There were peace-at-any-price men in the days of Washington. They were the Tories. There were peace-at-any-price men in the days of Lincoln. They were the Copperheads. The men who now, with timid hearts and quavering voices, praise Mr. Wilson for having kept us out of war are the spiritual heirs of the Tories of 1776, and the Copperheads of 1864. The men who followed Washington at Trenton and Yorktown, and who suffered with him through the winter at Valley Forge; and the men who wore the blue under Grant, and the Gray under Lee, were men of valor, who sacrificed everything to serve the right as it was given them to see the right. They spurned with contemptuous indignation the counsels of the feeble and cowardly folk who in their day spoke for peace-at-any-price.

The Murder of Americans Has Been Invited

President Wilson by his policy of tame submission to insult and injury from all whom he feared has invited the murder of our men, women and children by Mexican bandits on land, and by German submarines on the sea. He has spoken much of the "New Freedom." In international practice this has meant freedom for the representatives of any foreign power to murder American men, and outrage American women, unchecked by the President. President Wilson has counted upon his belief that the American people are indifferent to their duties, because they are too much absorbed in war profits, too much pleased with the unhealthy prosperity which flourishes because others are suffering; too greedily content with a momentary immunity from danger, due to the fact that all possible foes are otherwise engaged. He has believed that our people will not look ahead. He has believed that they will remain blind to the fact that disaster will surely in the end overtake them if they shirk their duties in the present. He believes that if they are allowed to enjoy good profits and high wages, and

go to the movies, and purchase automobiles, they will pay no thought to the possibility of future ruin, and no thought to the sufferings of their fellow-countrymen and countrywomen who, at the present moment, suffer the last extremities of torture and outrage.

Porter Emerson Browne has shown exactly the way in which we are looked at abroad in a recent statement which runs as follows:

"An American friend of mine attended a dinner given in Mexico by the erstwhile revolutionist thereof, Pascual Orozco. Pascual was puzzled. He asked my friend to explain that which so mystified him. 'We have robbed your men, dishonored your women, killed your children; tell me,' pleaded Pascual, 'what does an American need to make him fight?' Pascual, you see, being only an ignorant Mexican, couldn't understand why a wife or a couple of children more or less meant little when you have a new automobile and a fat bank account."

Consider Mr. Wilson's Statements

I do not ask you to take my statement for Mr. Wilson's motive and actions. I ask you only to consider his own statements, and the statements of his authorized representatives, and his actions, and above all, his constant inaction. Nearly one year and a half has passed since the *Lusitania* was sunk. The act represented the most colossal single instance of the murder of non-combatants, including men, women and children, that had been perpetrated by any power calling itself civilized for over a century. President Wilson had full notice as to what was to be done, for the German Ambassador, Mr. Von Bernstorff, had publicly given such notice to the people of the United States. For less than such action President George Washington, when ours was a weak, infant nation, forced the recall of the French Ambassador, Genet. But President Wilson did not act. He only spoke. And his words were a direct incitement to the repetition of the wrong. For immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania* he uttered his famous sentence about being "Too proud to fight." In all our history there has never been any other American President who has used

a phrase that has done such widespread damage to the good name of America. It is one of those dreadful phrases which, as by a lightning flash, illumines the soul of the man using it, and remains forever fixed in the minds of mankind in connection with that man. But this is not all. When the man is President of the United States, it is a sad and dreadful thing that the shame is necessarily shared by the nation itself; and it is completely assumed by the nation if it fails to repudiate the man who uttered the phrase.

Imagine George Washington after the Lexington fight, or even after the Boston massacre, selecting the occasion as an appropriate one for remarking that the American people might be "Too proud to fight!" Imagine Abraham Lincoln making such a statement two days after the firing on Sumter!

Nor was this phrase an isolated one. Shortly afterwards, under date of May 27th, the New York Times contained the statement that President Wilson declined an invitation to speak at Independence Hall on July 5th, and in response to a suggestion that he should only speak on patriotism, remarked: "This is perhaps the very time when I would not care to arouse the sentiment of patriotism." I call your attention to the fact that I take this statement from one of the most prominent Wilson papers. President Wilson refused to speak in Independence Hall on the one hundred and twenty-eighth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in that hall, and he so refused because inasmuch as over one hundred of our men, women and children had just been murdered on the high seas he regarded it as "the very moment when he would not care to arouse the sentiment of patriotism." Mr. Wilson has a positive genius for striking when the iron is cold and fearing to strike when the iron is hot. If one hundred and twenty-eight years ago Washington and Jefferson, and the other men who signed the Declaration of Independence, had felt the same way about patriotism, and the same way about fighting as Mr. Wilson does, we would never have had a country. Had Lincoln felt the same way, there would be no such thing as the American Republic now in existence.

Most assuredly, my fellow countrymen, the American

Republic will not live, and will not deserve to live, if for the views of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776, we substitute as the basis of national action the views of the President who, one hundred and twenty-eight years later, declined to speak in commemoration of the day, because in a dangerous crisis it seemed to his cold heart unwise "to arouse the spirit of patriotism."

Mr. Wilson's Deeds Contradict His Words

The other day, discussing his refusal to recognize Huerta, President Wilson said in his speech of acceptance that he would refuse to recognize any "title based upon intrigue and assassination," and that he would "refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence." Fine words; only, as usual, they are contradicted by Mr. Wilson's deeds. Let this statement about Huerta be tested by Mr. Wilson's record in exactly similar cases when dealing with other men. In February, 1914, at the very time he was refusing to recognize Huerta in Mexico, President Wilson recognized Colonel Benavides in Peru; although Benavides had obtained his power by the exact means which Mr. Wilson denounced in the case of Huerta. The Government of Benavides was founded on assassination, and had no vestige of constitutional authority back of it. It came into power in February, 1914, when Colonel Benavides led the garrison troops against the President's palace, imprisoned the President and assassinated the Minister of War and various others. Minister McMillan reported these facts fully to the President. The case against Benavides was far more flagrant than that against Huerta; but President Wilson boldly "extended the hand of welcome to the man who obtained power in a sister republic by treachery and violence, and whose title was based upon assassination and intrigue." It is absolutely impossible to accept Mr. Wilson's statement as a justification in the case of Huerta unless we admit that that very statement irretrievably condemns him in the case of Benavides. The only other explanation is that Mr. Wilson's statement in the Huerta matter was not intended to

correspond with the facts, but merely to impress well-meaning persons who were ignorant of the facts.

In both San Domingo and Haiti President Wilson intervened by force on behalf of men who had obtained power precisely as Mr. Huerta obtained it. Indeed, in the case of Haiti, President Zamor was guilty of far worse conduct. But San Domingo and Haiti were weak and President Wilson was willing to act as regards them as he did not venture to act in Mexico.

But it is Mr. Wilson's recognition of Carranza which more than anything else applies the "acid test," of which Mr. Wilson is so fond of speaking, to Mr. Wilson's own allegations as to why he did not recognize Huerta. Every argument against Huerta applied with tenfold more truth and weight against Carranza. Immediately after Mr. Wilson recognized Carranza, the latter courtmartialled and shot a former member of Huerta's cabinet, Garcia Granados, who had committed no crime whatever except having served in Huerta's cabinet. It was a deliberate murder of a man of good character who was at the time in private life; and Carranza had already permitted his followers to assassinate members of the House and members of the Senate of the Mexican Congress. For full particulars I refer you to the speech of Senator Fall on June 2d last. On April 3d, 1915, the Americans resident in the City of Mexico sent to the Department of State a letter setting forth that Carranza's troops had without check by him, and acting by his orders, killed men, outraged women and raided churches. Moreover, Mr. Wilson is himself a witness against his present ally. I refer you to the letter of Mr. Wilson's own Secretary of State of June 4 last. In this letter it is explicitly stated that Carranzista soldiers in September, 1915, invaded American territory at several different points, and engaged in burning and looting American property and killing American citizens; and, says Mr. Wilson through his Secretary of State, "not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated." One of these "uncivilized" acts was committed on September 29th, when some of Carranza's soldiers captured an American trooper, killed him and cut off his

head and ears. Exactly twenty days later, on October 19th, Mr. Wilson expressed "pleasure" in informing Carranza that he recognized him! Since the recognition Carranza's troops by his orders have treacherously attacked and murdered American soldiers on at least two occasions. If the acts above recited—which are merely samples of the course of conduct Carranza had already pursued—do not constitute "intrigue and assassination, treachery and violence," then the words have lost their meaning. Mr. Wilson took "pleasure" in "extending the hand of welcome" to Carranza, whose own hand is red with the blood of murdered men and women of his own nation, and whose hands, unlike the hands of Huerta, were also red with the blood of murdered Americans, of murdered American civilians, and of murdered American soldiers wearing the American uniform. But President Wilson cared as little for the deaths of these men as he cared for the honor of the uniform. He with "pleasure extended the hand of welcome" to the man guilty of their murder.

Note-sending Not a Success

On September 5th there appeared in the newspapers a statement by Secretary of the Interior Lane, of Mr. Wilson's Cabinet, who is engaged in the humiliating and disgraceful negotiations Mr. Wilson's government is carrying on with the Mexican representatives at New London—and, by the way, as the former negotiations were said to be with the A, B, C powers, these negotiations, in view of the Mexican demands for money, might well be called the I. O. U negotiations. Mr. Lane explained that in endeavoring to get a settlement the American delegates "will not resort to the note-sending plan," and he adds that "note-sending has not been a success." Mr. Lane is entirely right, and his statement is a condemnation of the entire diplomatic policy of the President in whose Cabinet he sits. The New York Times, under date of February 11th, stated that the claims of Americans and foreigners for the loss of property and life in Mexico now total about one billion dollars, of which six hundred millions are due to Americans, and the other four hundred millions to natives of Germany, England, France

and Spain. The Times further mentioned that Mr. Lane had been told that the representatives of these powers regarded the United States as obligated to make good their property losses, and to pay indemnity for the lives of their compatriots.

It was also announced in the public press that one hundred million dollars was expended in General Pershing's expedition into Mexico, and that we are now expending fifteen million dollars a week to keep one hundred and fifty thousand men on the border of Mexico in order to enable Mr. Wilson to continue to wage peace with that country. It seems probable that the fruits of Mr. Wilson's policy in Mexico will be that we shall find ourselves saddled with a debt of a billion and a half dollars; while already many more of our people have been killed than were killed in the war with Spain; and our policy has been ruinous to Mexico, dishonorable to ourselves, and infamous from the standpoint of humanity; while not the slightest progress toward a permanent settlement has been made.

In dealing with foreign nations, if we are to retain our self-respect, and protect our citizens, the first essential is that when we speak it shall be understood that we mean what we say. In his speech at West Point on June 2d last, President Wilson said: "Mankind is going to know that when America speaks she means what she says." Most emphatically mankind will never know this as long as Mr. Wilson is President.

On August 27th, 1913, he directed the American Consul-General in Mexico to notify all Mexican officials that "they will be held strictly responsible for any injury done to any American, or for injury done to their property." On February 10th, 1915, he sent his first note to Germany as regards the use of submarines in sinking merchant vessels, warning Germany that in case an American vessel or the life of an American citizen should be destroyed by a German submarine, the United States would hold the Imperial Government of Germany to "strict accountability." At the same time Secretary of State Bryan, according to his published statement, informed the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador Dumba that the note was intended merely for "home

consumption," and was not to be taken seriously by Germany, and he reported his conversation to President Wilson, who approved of it. This makes an interesting gloss on Mr. Wilson's statement that "Mankind is going to know that when America speaks she means what she says."

Ships Torpedoed Continually

On March 28th, 1915, the steamship *Falaba* was torpedoed, and of the one hundred and eighteen persons drowned, two were Americans. On May 1st, 1915, the *Gulflight*, an American vessel, was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine, and the lives of three persons on board lost. On May 7th the *Lusitania* was torpedoed, and thirteen hundred and ninety-six persons were drowned. But President Wilson did not "make mankind know that when America speaks she means what she says." On the contrary, he selected this as the appropriate occasion for his remark about being "too proud to fight." He did not hold Germany to strict accountability. He did not hold her to any accountability, strict or loose. He wrote notes. We have the authority of Mr. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, for the saying that "note-writing has not proved a success." President Wilson's first note to Germany was on May 13th. Germany answered it on May 25th by torpedoing the *Nebraskan*, an American vessel. On June 9th, President Wilson sent his second note, and on July 21st, a third. Germany answered these notes on August 19th by sinking the *Arabic*, drowning forty-one persons, including two Americans; and on September 6th, the *Hesperian*, twenty-six persons being drowned, including two Americans. On December 30th, the *Persia* was sunk, the number of lives lost being three hundred and thirty-eight, including two Americans, one of them a Consul-General. Other vessels have since been sunk. No atonement has been made by Germany; and in more than one case the newspapers report that the captain of the submarine has been promoted or decorated as a reward. You ask me whether I would have "gone to war" in such a case? I believe that a firm policy—such a policy as I followed while I was President—would have kept us out of war—as it actually did while I was President.

But, if in order to stop repeated murders of our men, women and children, and repeated outrages on our women, it had been necessary to fight, I would have fought on the drop of a hat.

So much for the "strict accountability" to which Germany was to be held. The "strict responsibility" to which Mexico was to be held resulted in precisely a similar manner. While Germany was drowning between one and two hundred Americans, and a couple of thousand other noncombatants who were at sea, the Mexicans were killing a somewhat larger number of Americans, and a still larger number of other noncombatants on land. President Wilson did not hold Germany to "strict accountability" in one case, and did not hold Mexico to "strict responsibility" in the other. He did nothing whatever. Nobody has been punished for the lives lost.

Mr. Wilson's Words Mean Nothing

In President Wilson's speech of acceptance, he said that "the loss of life is irreparable," and that the "direct violation of a nation's sovereignty" stands on a similar plane, and that "the nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance." Words! Very fine words! They would have meant much if Andrew Jackson had spoken them. But from Mr. Wilson they mean absolutely nothing. "Mankind knows that when America speaks" through President Wilson she does not mean what she says, and will take no action. Mr. Wilson never ventured for one moment to "call to account by direct challenge and resistance" either Germany or even Mexico. He says quite properly that "the loss of life is irreparable." Therefore, it was his solemn duty to prevent the loss of life. On February 10th he issued his strict accountability note. On March 28th, the *Falaba* was torpedoed. If he had then made good his words; if he had immediately held Germany to strict accountability, not one of the subsequent sinkings would have taken place. The *Lusitania*, the *Arabic*, the *Persia*, the *Sussex*, and the other vessels would be afloat, and twenty-three hundred men, women and children would be alive. They lost their

lives because President Wilson did not venture to call "to account by direct challenge and resistance" Imperial Germany. He did not dare to make his words good.

President Wilson says in his speech of acceptance that he is "more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever." President Wilson sent note after note to England protesting against interference with property rights; and he has just taken action on behalf of property rights, against France and England, which if he had really thought about it in advance, and meant what he said, might very well lead to the most serious consequences with these powers. If it does not have this effect it will be because Mr. Wilson's words will again be left unbacked by deeds. This action by Mr. Wilson would be entirely proper and necessary if he had taken the right position on behalf of Belgium and had exacted prompt atonement for the murder of our men, women and children by German submarines. But it is improper when he has done none of these things. It is sardonic evidence that, if he thinks a political purpose is to be served, he will instantly show far more "interest" in "property rights" than in "the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children," whether in Louvain or Lille, in the United States or in Mexico, or on the high seas or anywhere else. If he had really shown by his deeds during the past two years an effective and determined purpose to protect our own "pitiful women and children" and all other "oppressed" people, if he had been their resolute and successful champion, it would now be his clear duty to take straightforward and effective action against any improper interference with our mails and merchandise, whether by blacklist, by the exercise of the right of search or otherwise. If he had thus acted in the past on behalf of human rights, it would be eminently proper to stand up for our property rights now. But the action actually taken by the President of the United States convicts us as a nation, in the eyes of other nations, and above all, in our own eyes, as being guilty of hypocritical insincerity in the whole matter. If the President had begun, two years ago, effectively and actively to prepare our military and naval strength, and if he

had meant what he said, and had clearly shown that he meant what he said, we would have rendered real service to mankind, we would have safeguarded all our rights, we would have been a potent force for peace, and we would have preserved unstained our national honor. As it is, we have earned the derision of mankind by our policy of mixed bluster, hypocrisy, and unpreparedness, and we have come perilously near to drifting into a position where we would have to face the alternatives of a humiliating backdown or else a war for which we were unprepared. President Wilson never looks ahead either when he utters threats or when he utters fine phrases about humanity. In the present instance we may or may not have trouble. Probably we shall avoid it, because it is probable that in the end Mr. Wilson will follow his usual course of submitting to wrongdoing by every one, instead of standing up for our rights and the rights of humanity against every one.

Mexico offers the most striking instance of contrast between words and deeds on the part of our government. Mr. Wilson speaks loftily on behalf of "oppressed men and pitiful women" in the abstract; but when the forces of Carranza and Villa murdered American men, and outraged American women, acting under the direct authority of their leaders, Mr. Wilson made no effective protest of any kind; and in his speech of acceptance he has actually apologized for these men on the ground that they "represented at least the fierce passions of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty." It is difficult to speak patiently of such an utterance, when we remember the infamy which it covers, and the abject submission to infamy for which it seeks to apologize.

President Wilson says that he is "interested in the fortunes of pitiful women and children." On the *Lusitania* there were drowned 103 babies under two years of age; fifty of them being babies under one year of age. How did Mr. Wilson's "interest" in these pitiful women and children show itself? It showed itself by the statement just two days later about being "Too proud to fight." It showed itself in his statement a little over two weeks later to the effect that it was inexpedient then to arouse the spirit of patriotism. Let

him square these acts with these words of his. Let him square these words with his professions of "interest" in the fortunes of "pitiful women and children." Let him square his absolute failure to take any action whatever with his statements that any "nation that violates our essential rights must be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance." Never in our history has there been such ignoble contrast between the words and the deeds of a chief executive.

A Parallel for Mr. Wilson's Interest in Oppressed Men

There is, however, a parallel for the kind of interest and concern President Wilson has thus shown for "oppressed men and pitiful women and children." But we have to go for it, not to history, but to fiction. His attitude recalls that of the walrus in "Alice Through the Looking Glass," who took the oysters out to walk on the beach, and then ate them up. While eating them the walrus bewailed their fate; and his words, emotions and actions are thus described:

"I weep for you, the walrus said,
I deeply sympathize;
With sobs and tears he sorted out
Those of the largest size,
Holding his pocket handkerchief
Before his streaming eyes."

Mr. Wilson's Weasel Words

As on almost every question President Wilson has occupied at least two diametrically opposite positions, we can usually find in some of his words an outline of the position we ought to have taken; but almost without exception, these fine words have had the meaning weaseled out of them by other words; and usually there have been no deeds whatever. Take, as an instance, the question of preparedness, and of the means necessary to secure it. In the fourteen months extending from December 8th, 1914, to February 10th, 1916, there were fifteen messages, letters and speeches of President Wilson which I have read. In these fifteen messages, letters and speeches, during those fourteen months, President Wilson took forty-one different positions

about preparedness and the measures necessary to secure it; and each of these forty-one positions contradicted from one to six of the others. In many of his speeches the weasel words of one portion of the speech took all the meaning out of the words used in another portion of that speech; and these latter words themselves had a weasel significance as regards yet other words. He argued for preparedness, and against preparedness. He stated that our army was ample; and that we did not have enough troops to patrol the Mexican border in time of peace. He said the world was on fire, and that sparks were liable to drop anywhere and cause us to burst into flame; and he also said that there was no sudden crisis; and then again that he did not know what a single day would bring forth. He said that we were on the verge of a maelstrom; and then that there was no special or critical situation. He said the danger was constant and immediate; and also that we were not threatened from any quarter. He said that there was no fear among us; and also that we were in daily danger of seeing the vital interest and honor of the country menaced and the flag of the United States stained with impunity. He said that we were in very critical danger of being involved in the great European struggle; and also that there was no need to discuss the question of defense, or to get nervous or excited about it. In one and the same speech, he said that a sufficient number of men would volunteer, and that if they did not he would be ashamed of America; and he also said that he did not know of any law which laid upon them the duty of coming into the army, if it should be necessary to call for volunteers. He said that we needed 500,000 volunteers, and that if there was any legitimate criticism of this demand it was because it was too small; and as soon as Congressman Hay objected to the plan, he promptly abandoned it. He said that the National Guard was not the proper body upon which to rely; and then not only changed his own mind but forced his own Secretary of War out of his Cabinet because this Secretary possessed less flexible convictions and was unable instantly to reverse himself when going at full speed.

When the President argued every which way, and stood on every side of every proposal, it was no wonder that Con-

gress was puzzled. Public opinion was not led by the President. He followed it in sharp zig-zags, now in one direction, and now in another, as he believed it at the moment to be going. In consequence, the laws just passed for our military establishment have been positively mischievous, and they will have to be repealed or amended before any really good legislation can be adopted. The course of the administration has so thoroughly discredited itself in the public mind, that it has been almost impossible to get recruits. I know of many old soldiers who have refused to re-enlist because of the unsatisfactory condition of our military laws at this moment, and above all, because of the shameful mishandling of the military forces during the past three years. If the recent rate of recruiting is a sample, it will take five years to increase our army by as much as twenty thousand men, allowing for the discharges.

The Democrats and the Navy

Six years ago, in 1910, as soon as the Democrats got possession of the House, they stopped work on the navy. From being the second naval power in the world in point of size, we have, during the last seven years, slipped down to being the fourth; and under Secretary Daniels, and thanks to the action of President Wilson, our efficiency reached its nadir. Now at last, and many years too late, the administration and the Democratic leaders in Congress have turned in panic, and are now seeking to build the navy. The plan they have authorized is, in effect, the plan for which I asked eight years ago in my message of April 14th, 1908, when I advocated the building of four super-dreadnoughts with, of course, other vessels in proportion.

The difference is that I was wise before the event, and they after the event. They are now acting too late to have any effect upon our standing during the present war, or at the period of settlement immediately following its conclusion. If the course I advocated in 1908 had been followed and our foreign affairs had been handled as they were then being handled, there would never have been an American life taken by any representative of the governments of either Mexico or Germany; and there would never have been

the appalling carnival of violations of international law that we have seen during the past two years and a quarter. We cannot undo the mischief that has been done during these three years; but if President Wilson is re-elected, we can make certain that this mischief will be repeated and perpetuated. We must elect Mr. Hughes as President, and we must in good faith take a policy the direct reverse of the present policy of feeble vacillation and empty elocution. Let us provide for a great navy, the second in size in the world; and let us provide for a regular army of a quarter of a million men, short service men, so that we can have one hundred and fifty thousand men who can be concentrated at once on the Mexican frontier, or on either coast, if there is serious trouble. And let us begin patiently and farsightedly to inaugurate in this country the system which treats the performance of the duties of citizenship as a necessary complement to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship. Let us provide for universal obligatory military training of all our young men in time of peace, and for the recognition of the principle that in time of war every man and every woman in the country is bound to render service wherever it is deemed that he or she can render it best.

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson

I ask you to test the character and courage of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson by comparing their attitudes as regards the demands of the railway brotherhoods, which culminated recently in the miscalled eight-hour legislation at Washington.

During the last eighteen years, covering the period when I was Governor, and President, I have hitherto on every important issue supported the brotherhoods. I am very proud of the fact that I am an honorary member of one of the brotherhoods. I have publicly stated that during the ten years when I held high public office, I found myself, on the whole, in closer agreement with the Brotherhoods than with any similar organized body, whether of business men, professional men, or labor men; with the possible exception of the members of the surgical and medical profession, in so far as they can be said to be organized. But it is

the duty of every good American, and especially every good public servant, in each question that arises touching the relations of labor and capital, to judge that particular question squarely on its merit. I equally abhor both the White Terror and the Red Terror, and I will stand as stoutly against one as against the other. We have seen in this country few things more discreditable to our representatives and more ominous for the future of the nation than the spectacle of the President and Congress of the United States being required to pass a certain bill before a certain hour at the dictation of certain men who sat in the gallery with their watches in their hands threatening ruin and disaster to the nation if there was the smallest failure to satisfy their demands.

Conduct Should Be the Test

As President I dealt at various times with both corporations and labor unions. In every case, according to the best of my ability, I stood in favor of the corporation or union that was doing right, and against the corporation or union that was doing wrong. For example, I stood against the Western Federation of Miners at one time, just as I stood against the richest and most powerful corporations of Wall Street at other times. I am therefore not asking any public servant to take a stand which I myself did not take when I was in public office.

The Anthracite Coal Strike

In particular I ask you to remember the Anthracite Coal Strike, because the menace that strike contained was even greater than the menace of a general tie-up of the transportation systems of the country; for it meant the possibility of actual death by cold to hundreds of thousands of our own people. At that time the great and wealthy mine owners, backed by the heads of the wealthiest and most powerful industrial and railroad corporations in the country, refused to arbitrate. The men struck. Winter was approaching, and fell disaster threatened all the Eastern half of our country. The representatives of the mine owners in response to my request insisted that there was nothing to arbitrate; and through their counsel also insisted that I had no power under the Constitution to act, and that

the public could not interfere, through the representatives of the public, with the way in which they managed their business. I took the opposite view.

Public Need Placed First

I held that where the public necessity was national and imperative, it became the duty of the chief of the nation to act. I held that in any such gigantic controversy between labor and capital as to threaten the welfare of the nation, there were three parties in interest, viz.: the capitalists, the workingmen and finally the people as a whole; and that where the public need was vital, that need must control. I specifically took the view that before final action was taken on the points at issue, we must have full information, given to the public and the representatives of the public by an unbiased body after a thorough study of the situation; that the power of the Government must be used to make effective the findings of this body, and that, pending its finding, the work of mining must go on, because the public need so demanded; and that therefore I would use the entire power of the nation to see that the work went on, that there was an arbitration by dispassionate experts, and that the conclusions of this arbitration were accepted. When the mine owners, backed by the most powerful financial interests in New York, refused to arbitrate, I proceeded to appoint an arbitration commission without regard to them, and I secured the assent of a political opponent, Mr. Cleveland, an ex-President of the United States, to serve as head of that commission. I saw the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and arranged with him that, if necessary, I would put the army in possession of the mines and would treat him as the receiver to run the mines, and to see that neither side interfered with the running. Fortunately, when it became evident that I would put my program through at no matter what hazard or difficulty, the hazards and difficulties both vanished, and I was able to secure an agreement for arbitration and for the return of the men to work pending the result of the arbitration.

Eight-Hour Day Not at Issue

I believe in labor unions. But I believe first and foremost in liberty and justice obtained through the Union to

which all of us belong, the union of all the people of the United States. I believe in the eight-hour day as the *general* rule toward which we must strive; but I recognize that special needs must be met in special industries; and that in all such cases there must be very careful consideration of all the conditions before final action is taken. In this case, however, the eight-hour day is not the issue. The issue is an increase of wages, given by law, without previous investigation or knowledge. The principle of the eight-hour day is not at issue and is adroitly invoked merely to cloak the real issue.

Eight hours may be the outside limit of proper work time in Mr. Ford's factory, where the man is all the time working at just one thing intensively, and without vacation; but eight hours that includes periods of doing nothing but sit around, and also change of occupation, may not be long enough. Moreover, there are occupations of intermittent activity where to limit the total time on duty in any one day to eight hours would be an absurdity; and there are others where excessive activity on one day is compensated for by complete leisure on the following day.

Really a Wage-Increase Bill

The case at issue is pre-eminently one that comes in the category of those that can be settled only after careful investigation and full consideration of many important conflicting elements. I believe in the eight-hour day, on moral and sociological grounds, as being the ideal towards which we should strive. I believe in wages being just as high in any business as is compatible with square treatment to the other parties in interest. But if the Government is to intervene in order to secure shorter hours and better wages it must do so only after full knowledge and not merely under the duress of threats. Moreover, the issue must be honestly stated. The Government must not be used really to get higher wages, when the nominal and surface demand seems to be for fewer hours of labor. It appears that what in this case is demanded is not really a day of eight hours' labor, but a higher rate of pay for the eight hours, or a higher rate of overtime pay beyond eight hours. In other words, it is not

a law to limit hours of labor in the sense that we use in speaking of an eight-hour day for women, or an eight-hour law for three shifts in continuous industry. It is primarily a bill to secure an advance in wages; the securing of an eight-hour day is wholly secondary, and as regards many employees, would probably not be brought about or desired.

Must Have Arbitration

When any labor trouble becomes of such size as to involve the public, the public has a right to interfere, to insist that there shall be no interference with the welfare and safety of the public, and therefore to insist on arbitration, that is, for just decision by the Government, after an investigation conducted through a commission which will get all the facts and lay them before the Executive and Legislative representatives of the public for what action they deem necessary. These were the principles which by actual deed, when I was President, I upheld in the teeth of violent opposition from the most powerful corporations in the land, representing the employers' interest. The opposition of these great employing corporations was asserted in every possible way against me throughout the period when I held public office or was a candidate for public office. I absolutely disregarded it, because I thought that only by disregarding it could I do my duty to the country. In just the same way, and from just the same motives, I shall now disregard any opposition by the representatives of misguided labor unions to the principles which I then put into effect, and which they then applauded me for putting into effect. As I said when I was President, I believe that the welfare of the laboring man, with the sole exception of the welfare of the farmer, is more important to this country than the welfare of any other citizen; I shall do all I can to secure his permanent welfare; I shall do everything in my power for the working man *except what is wrong*; but I will do wrong neither for him nor for any other man.

Must Be One Law for All

There must be but one law to be applied in these cases, and to be yielded to by all alike. To yield to the threats of a

great organized body of workers is just as evil and cowardly a thing in a public man as to yield to the influence of representatives of great organized capital; and in the long run just as dangerous to the country. It is a wicked and a perilous thing, without a hearing, without regard to the rights of the case, to burden the whole country, to tax the whole country, because a special benefit is demanded by a group of voters who can exert formidable political pressure, who threaten temporary inconvenience and damage, and who therefore cow timid or shifty politicians. Such wrongdoing by our public men will in the end be fraught with even greater mischief to the workers than to the capitalists, for if the policy of yielding to improper influence is substituted for the policy of justice, in the long run capital will exert an insidious force exceeding any that the labor unions can bring to bear. It has been well said that "Democracies cannot live if organized minorities can force them to unconsidered acts." Whether the arrogant disregard of justice and of the public weal is shown by organized capital or organized labor is of no consequence whatever. If either is permitted to intimidate the representatives of the people, the effect upon free institutions will be equally fatal.

Action Without Knowledge

The representatives of the brotherhoods nominally refused to submit the question to arbitration. What they really did was to insist upon action by Congress without previous investigation, without full knowledge, and indeed, without any knowledge. The President made their action his own. He therefore denied us full knowledge; and all that we can say is that, with the knowledge before us at present, it appears that the question at issue was not really that of an eight-hour day at all, but of an increase of wages. The demand was not that on freight trains eight hours should be made the day's work, but that eight hours should "be made the *measure* of a day's work for the purpose of receiving compensation," so that the men should receive the same wages that they now receive for ten hours' work; and that provision should be made for overtime at about the rate of time and one-half. The passenger service was exempted.

This was because of the high-speed basis of many passenger schedules, which means that many of the men on these trains complete their day's work in four or five hours, and that because of the mileage basis on which they are paid they may receive in one day pay for twenty hours' work although they do not work ten or even eight hours a day.

Now, I wish it distinctly understood that I am not in the least prepared to say that this demand is wrong. It may be absolutely right. My point is that, without full investigation we cannot say whether it is right or wrong. President Wilson yielded to the dictation of the heads of the brotherhoods, and made no effort to find out whether the demand was right or wrong. He made no effort to find out whether it could be complied with without raising freight rates. He made no effort to find out all the equities in the case; those affecting the men, those affecting the stockholders, those affecting the shippers. He took his orders from that one of the parties in interest which he most feared. He insisted that the law be passed without inquiry. And then he deferred the operation of the law until after election, which, of course, could only have been done for political reasons. We have not at this moment any power to determine which side of the controversy is right, and which wrong. We do not know whether it is right to increase the wages without increasing the freight rates; and whether in such event it is proper to the public that both the rates and wages shall be increased to the amount this bill will require; or whether any increase in rates ought to be made; or whether in the interest of the public neither wages nor rates should be increased. I believe, from the standpoint of the public interest, in the proper limitation by law of the hours of work on railroads; but it is essential that there shall be full knowledge and consideration of all the facts before determining exactly what the law shall be.

The President and Congress Coerced

The question at issue was not that of an eight-hour day at all. The question was whether the President and Congress should enact a law, without investigation and without knowledge, to give increased wages to a certain

portion of the body of wage earners. The labor leaders on this issue, without regard to the right or wrong of the matter, first coerced the President, and then with his aid coerced Congress. The question at issue was not one of hours of labor. It was one of wages. And it was settled by the President and Congress without investigation and without knowledge. The settlement was due partly to fear and partly to hope of political profit. President Wilson in his speech on the 23rd of this month sought to explain and justify his action. He stated his whole case with probably unconscious accuracy when he said that before he undertook to settle the controversy he had "learned that the whole temper of the legislative bodies of the United States was in favor" of what one side announced to be its contention. In other words, he had made up his mind in advance; and he had made it up because he believed the majority of the Congressmen (for the most part pure politicians) were on what they deemed to be the popular side. In this speech he explicitly admitted that in this controversy "the main partner was left out of the reckoning," because the two parties declined to consider "what rights had the hundred million people of the United States?" And President Wilson eagerly joined with these men in refusing to consider the rights of these hundred millions of people. President Wilson knows well that he has betrayed the rights of these people. He admits that when in the same speech, with his usual faculty for using fine words about the future when he desires to cover up mean deeds in the present, he says, "How are we going to prevent any organization from overriding the interests of society? . . . America has the privilege to say: You must not interrupt the national life without consulting us." Exactly! Fine words! Words such as Mr. Wilson loves to use. And, as is customary with Mr. Wilson, these fine words of his about abstract rights are flatly contradicted by his unworthy deeds as soon as the concrete case arises. Mr. Wilson uses these lofty words about the future at the very time when he has made America submit to seeing "an organization override the interests of society," when by his action he has permitted this organization to "interrupt

the national life without consulting us." Of course, it is a mere pretense to say that there is any sacred social reason why there is any greater reason to refuse to arbitrate the number of hours of labor than to refuse to arbitrate the amount of wages. And the question really at issue in this case does not really refer to the number of hours of labor. It refers really to the rate of wages. What Mr. Wilson really did was to insist on legislation about the wage scale without any previous investigation or knowledge.

Proper Course Abandoned

For years the great railways insisted that they would not arbitrate such cases; that they would not admit the right of the Government to interfere. Now at last they have been brought to admit that they will accept arbitration. They admit the right and the duty of the National Government in the premises. Immediately thereupon President Wilson and the majority in the two houses of Congress turn around, and in the momentary and evanescent interest of a small section of labor they abandon the great principle for which all the farsighted champions of labor have been fighting. They thereby put a premium upon the use of force, by threat or by action, in order to secure special privilege. They establish a most evil precedent, the consequences of which may be widespread and lasting.

The Right Course

There was but one course that could rightly have been taken, and that the perfectly simple course. The President had ample knowledge. He had many weeks in which to secure proper action by the parties to the controversy; and if either would not agree to such action, he had ample time in which to get Congress to give him any power necessary in order to deal thoroughly and without difficulty with the situation. If the regular board of mediation and conciliation was inadequate, he should have at once appointed a special commission, which would have included men thoroughly acquainted with the situation from the wage workers' standpoint, possessed of an understanding sympathy with the wage workers, and incapable of being

bullied or of being influenced in any improper manner. The President should have insisted that every matter be laid before this committee of arbitration, and nothing withheld. The commission would have dealt in thoroughgoing and satisfactory fashion with all the various questions involved—all of which are interrelated and interdependent. It would have dealt with the question of an eight-hour day, and with the complicated question of the amount of wages to be paid for that day and for overtime in the various positions. It would also have dealt with the question as to whether this necessarily meant a raise of rates. As an incident to this it would have had to take up the question of securing just remuneration to the property holders; and therefore it would have had to deal with any question of recent over-capitalization; for although I do not believe it would be wise to take up old cases of over-capitalization (where grave injustice to innocent people would be caused by any action) any recent instance of over-capitalization should be accepted as having been gone into after full notice and with full knowledge, and should be punished accordingly.

Pending the decisions of the commission, it should have been made clear that the President would permit no interference with the traffic which is essential to the life of the commonwealth; that there should be no stoppage of the arteries of circulation in the body politic and social; and that rather than see such a stoppage the Government would itself run the trains if necessary until such time as the commission could report. When the commission's report was made, it would have become the duty of the Government to see that it was put into effect, and in case of any controversy itself to interpret and apply the rules. That was the course demanded by courage and honor; and that was the course demanded by every man to whom Americanism was a fact, and not an empty phrase.

If the improper course which the President followed had been due to mistaken conviction, to erroneous principle, its effect would nevertheless have been evil. As it is, the effect is far worse, because there is grave reason to believe that the course he followed was directly opposed to his real

convictions. The President is now a candidate for office and speaks well of labor. Until he became a candidate for office, and as long as he was President of a University, he, with entire safety, ignored or assailed the Labor Unions. Indeed, he was then their bitter, ungenerous, and often unjust critic. At the People's Forum on February 25, 1905, he said: "Labor Unions drag the highest man to the level of the lowest." In an address at a dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria on March 18, 1907, in speaking of the capitalists, he said: "There is another equally formidable enemy to equality and betterment of opportunity, and that is the class formed by the labor organizations and leaders of this country." In a letter written January 12, 1909, he said: "I am a fierce partisan of the open shop." In June of the same year, speaking at Princeton, he said: "The usual standard of the employee in our day is to give as little as he may for his wages. Labor is standardized by the trades unions and this is the standard to which it is made to conform. I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under this regulation. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants." I have no question that when Mr. Wilson thus spoke he expressed his sincere convictions. Less than two years later he was in public life and immediately his attitude changed. There is no reason to believe that his convictions changed.

Political Expediency First

The course actually followed by the President and the majority of Congress put the interests of the country second to considerations of unhealthy political expediency. It appealed to timid and shortsighted men outside of Congress no less than to those within Congress. It is upheld now by certain men who say, "Thank God, President Wilson averted a strike," just exactly as they and those like them say, "Thank God, President Wilson has kept us out of war." These persons do not ask whether he averted the strike honorably or dishonorably, any more than they ask

whether he averted a war honorably or dishonorably. They have not considered in either case whether temporary safety was to be ignobly purchased at the cost of future disaster. All that they have demanded was that war should be averted in one case, and a strike averted in the other case, in order that they might not have to undergo risk or temporary material discomfort. They have been too timid and too shortsighted to make any sacrifice for the sake of right and justice, or to undergo any risk in order to preserve the foundations of Democracy and of Free Government in America. These men have shown entire willingness to submit to organized tyranny both from outside our borders and from inside our borders, if only at the moment they could avoid inconvenience and financial loss. These men are not the heirs of the Americans who brought the Revolutionary War to a successful close nor of the men who wore the Blue and the Gray for four long years in the great struggle of the Civil War. If the American people of today are willing to accept such leadership, they will give justification for the belief that they prize ease and comfort above the principles for which their forefathers suffered and died.

An Invitation to Disaster

We of the United States invite disaster, we sacrifice every principle of manhood, if we raise a breed of men in this country who determine vital issues in such fashion. Such men when they face any issue merely ask if it is difficult to meet it honestly and bravely; and if it is, they instantly proceed to meet it dishonestly and timidly. They measure the acts of their public men in terms of immediate material content and ease. They do not require them to act in terms of right and justice. They say that they stand for the administration because it has kept us out of war, and has averted a strike. They refuse seriously to consider, as all high-minded Americans ought to consider, the President's refusal to do his plain and honest duty by meeting great crises honorably and courageously.

If our people follow the President who has kept them in the easy path of temporary comfort and material ease

at the sacrifice of national honor and of true Americanism, and of the immutable principles of righteousness, then as a people we shall lose all moral greatness in the present, and most assuredly we shall see this loss followed by the loss of material greatness in the future.

Promise and Performance

An ounce of performance outweighs a ton of promise. In all these cases whenever there was any risk, any danger to be encountered, President Wilson has promptly retreated. He has then sought to cover his retreat by uttering high-sounding words. But in these cases his high-sounding words amount to absolutely nothing. Only his acts, or failures to act, count. In the anthracite strike we settled the principle that the public rights are superior to any private rights in matters of vital public moment. President Wilson surrendered this principle at the demand of the great labor leaders, without investigation and regardless of the facts, and shifted the burden to the public, while abandoning the rights of the public. For justice in dealing between capital and labor he has substituted the policy of craven surrender to whichever side has the superiority in brute force. Once more in our internal affairs, as in our external affairs, he has stood for peace at any price. He refuses to look ahead. He shows not one shred of that stern and unyielding courage which enables a leader to face temporary risk, discomfort and hardship for the sake of a lofty ideal and a splendid ultimate triumph. He was cowed by the big labor leaders exactly as he had already been cowed by Germany and by Mexico. He himself acknowledged the evil of the situation when he said, "It must never be allowed again." But by his actions he has guaranteed that it will arise again, whenever there is in the White House a man too timid to face threats or front danger. Mr. Wilson's acts in the White House have shown that what he seeks in any emergency of this nature is momentary relief, temporary safety, purchased at whatever cost of present ignominy and at whatever risk of future disaster. President Wilson has announced that in theory he stood for arbitration in such matters, but the minute

that he was threatened he not only abandoned the principle but supported the assault on it. The union leaders announced that they had "steadily refused to arbitrate," and that in their action they were "supported by the President of the United States." President Wilson was the guardian of the public weal. He betrayed the public weal. This is specifically set forth in the official announcement of the chairman of the union representatives, who thus described the contest:

"In times like this men go back to primal instinct—to the day of the caveman, who, with his half-gnawed bone snarled at the other caveman who wanted to take his bone away. We leaders are fighting for our men, the railroads are fighting for their stockholders, and the shippers for themselves. And the public will pay." And President Wilson let the public pay. He let the contest be decided not on principles of justice, but by the rules obtained between cavemen snarling over a bone. No wonder that the rugged cavemen of industrial warfare treated with utter contempt the feeble appeals of the apostle of peace at any price.

Lasting Harm Done to Nation

By his actions President Wilson did lasting harm to the nation. The vice of his procedure was four-fold. He delivered a deadly blow at the principle of industrial arbitration. He immensely weakened the power of the National Executive to act under such conditions on behalf of the public. He established the shameful and perilous precedent that the Government of the United States can be coerced, and legislation extorted from Congress, by terrorization and the threat of violence. He aided in securing a settlement which puts a premium on the overriding of justice by appeals to brute force.

"The Sanction of Society"

President Wilson seeks to justify himself on the ground that it was "futile" and dangerous to "stand firmly." This is an appeal that can with equal truth be made by every soldier who runs away in battle. He further al-

leges his belief that the cause he championed "has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor." I remember thirty-odd years ago in the Black Hills a local vigilance committee which was in doubt about hanging a suspected wrongdoer. While they were discussing the matter, there appeared over the neighboring divide a frowsy, elderly horseman in a linen duster, who promptly galloped towards them, waving his arms and shouting "Hang him! Hang him!" The leader of the vigilantes at once asked the frowsy stranger what he knew of the facts, whereupon the stranger answered: "I do not know anything about the facts, and I never saw the man before; but there's eleven of you and only one of him, and I believe in majority rule!" This is merely a picturesque paraphrase of what Mr. Wilson calls action under "the sanction of society." It exemplifies the principles upon which President Wilson has acted in those public matters, internal and external, where he was threatened with the use of force.

Elect Hughes

I appeal to my fellow citizens that they shall elect Mr. Hughes and repudiate Mr. Wilson because only by so doing can they save America from that taint of gross selfishness and cowardice which we owe to Mr. Wilson's substitution of adroit elocution for straightforward action. The permanent interests of the American people lie, not in ease and comfort for the moment, no matter how obtained, as Mr. Wilson would teach us, but in resolute championship of the ideals of national and international democratic duty, and in preparedness to make this championship effective by our strength. President Wilson embodies in his person that most dangerous doctrine which teaches our people that when fronted with really formidable responsibilities we can shirk trouble and labor and risk, and avoid duty by the simple process of drugging our souls with the narcotic of meaningless phrasemongering. Mr. Hughes, to the exact contrary, embodies the ideal of service rendered through conscientious effort in the face of danger and difficulty. Mr. Wilson turns his words into deeds only if this can be achieved by adroit political

maneuvering, by bartering a debauched civil service for congressional votes on behalf of some measure which he had solemnly promised to oppose. Our own self-respect demands that we support the man of deeds done in the open against the man of furtive and shifting political maneuvers; the man of service against the man who, whenever opposed by a dangerous foe, always takes refuge in empty elocution.

There is nothing that we of this country so much need as to practice the doctrine of service. As a people we need the sterner virtues even more than we need the softer virtues. Material prosperity, bodily ease, money, pleasure, are all desirable; but woe to us if we consider them as the be-all and end-all of our private lives or of our collective national life! Woe to us if our material prosperity brings in its wake lethargy of spirit and deadness of soul! Let us in our lives apply the great doctrines of duty and of service. Above all let us realize that lofty profession is a mischievous sham when it is not translated into efficient performance. Among the companions of Lucifer in Milton's mighty epic there was none among the fiercer fiends so dangerous as he who

“With words clothed in reason's garb,
Counselled ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,
Not peace.”

THE SQUARE DEAL IN INDUSTRY

Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, October 14, 1916

I HAVE accepted the invitation to come to Wilkes-Barre, to discuss the Adamson law, because Wilkes-Barre is the headquarters of the great industry in connection with which I myself as President was brought into close and intimate touch with the labor movement in this country. If what I have to say is of any value it must be not only because it represents what in the abstract is right, but also because in the concrete I applied, in actual practice, when I had power, the principles which I criticize Mr. Wilson for not applying now. Therefore, I wish to recapitulate to you just what occurred in connection with the anthracite coal strike and to contrast it with what Mr. Wilson has done in connection with the law for the increase of wages on railroads.

United States First

At the outset, I wish to express my very hearty admiration for the Brotherhoods. I am proud of the fact that I am an honorary member of one of them. I have usually been in entire sympathy with them. While I held public office I found myself, in the vast majority of cases, able to support them in their demands, *because these demands were right*. But now they have demanded legislation raising their wages to be taken without investigation and without the exercise of that form of judgment shown by a competent arbitration commission; and such a demand is wrong, and I stand against it because it is wrong, exactly as I have stood against the demands of bankers and lawyers, and mine owners and railroad presidents when they were wrong. I believe in labor unions. I am proud that I am myself an honorary member of a labor union. But I believe first of all in the Union to which all of us belong, the union of all the people of the whole United States.

President's Action Wrong by His Own Statement

In the case of the settlement of the anthracite coal strike, the action I took was of precisely the kind which President Wilson now says the law should make obligatory in all similar cases in the future. But Mr. Wilson himself admits that his own action was so bad that it ought never to be repeated, for he has assured the public that although Congress has adjourned without doing anything, it is his intention when Congress meets to see that it does something to render it impossible for another President ever to repeat exactly what he has just done. In other words, I stood and stand by my action as the proper action, constituting the proper precedent for future action. Mr. Wilson himself confesses that his action was wrong and that the precedent thereby set is so evil that legislation must be enacted rendering it impossible for another President ever to repeat the action.

There is another point of difference, and a vital point. The action I took was intended to meet the situation at once. The action that Mr. Wilson took has been deferred so that it shall not take place until considerably after election.

The Anthracite Coal Strike

Fourteen years ago the great anthracite coal strike had occurred in this region. From the beginning I put the governmental agents in touch with the situation and kept myself thoroughly informed, so that I should be able to act immediately if it became necessary for me to act. I hoped that it would not be necessary, and that the parties themselves would come to an agreement; for I was very loath to interfere if it could be avoided. But cold weather approached, a coal famine menaced the entire eastern section of the United States, and there was not the slightest symptom of an agreement being reached by the contending parties. I felt that the time had come for me to act. On the one side were the greatest and wealthiest mine-owners of the country, intimately connected with the wealthiest and most powerful industrial and railroad corporations in the country. These men absolutely refused to arbitrate. They said

there was nothing to arbitrate, that I had no power under the Constitution to act, and that the public could not interfere, nor the representatives of the public, with the way in which they managed their business. The representatives of the mine workers, of labor, on the contrary, expressed their entire willingness to arbitrate and demanded nothing except that as one of the conditions of arbitration there should be some representative of organized labor to sit together with the representatives of capital and of the public at large. I made every effort to get the two sides to agree. When I failed, I decided that I would act myself. I held that where the public necessity was national and imperative it became the duty of the Chief of the Nation to act. I held that in any such gigantic controversy between labor and capital, containing such a threat to the welfare of the great body of our people, there were three parties in interest: viz., the capitalists, the workingmen, and the people as a whole; and that where the public need was vital that need must control.

Arbitration Insisted Upon

I held, moreover, that in any case of such importance and such interest we must have full knowledge before final action on any of the points at issue was taken, and that this knowledge must be obtained by an unbiased body of arbitrators after a thorough study of the situation. I held that the power of the Government must be used to make effective the findings of this body, and that pending the findings the work of mining must go on because the public need demanded it. Therefore, I decided that I would use the entire power of the nation to see that there was an arbitration by dispassionate experts, and that the conclusions of that arbitration were accepted by both sides, and that until their decision was rendered the work of mining should go on in the interests of the people as a whole. When the mine owners, backed by and representing the most powerful financial interests of the country, positively refused to arbitrate, I proceeded to appoint an Arbitration Committee without regard to them; securing the consent of a political opponent, ex-President Grover Cleveland, to serve at the head of that

commission. I saw the Lieutenant-General of the Army and arranged with him that if necessary I would put the army in possession of the mines and would treat him as a receiver to run the mines, and to see that neither side interfered with the mining. When it became evident that I meant what I said, that both sides could count on my endeavor to do strict justice, and that they could also count on my insisting that the public needs be immediately met, the capitalists yielded and the Commission was appointed.

You know the rest, you miners here! Work was resumed in the mines immediately, on the old terms, which continued until the Commission reported. The Commission consisted of as able and as impartial men as there were in the country, including the head of the Order of Railway Conductors, Mr. Clark. It also included among others, a Federal Judge, a skilled engineer, a trained labor expert and a beloved friend of mine, Archbishop Spaulding, of Illinois, whose interest in the welfare of the workingmen was genuine and sympathetic, and who also understood with entire clearness that in the long run justice to the workingmen could be permanently secured only if it was made part of a scheme to secure justice for everybody concerned.

Arbitration Successful

The arbitration was successful. I understand that with slight modifications, you have continued to operate the mines under its terms up to the present day. More important still, it set the precedent for the course that ought to be followed in all disputes of this nature hereafter. Mr. Wilson, on the contrary, has set a precedent which he himself admits must never hereafter be followed if justice is to be done. This is a vital point of difference between the conduct of the Chief Executive in one case and in the other. When fourteen years ago, I acted, there was no precedent for me to follow, and no established instrumentalities through which to work. I had to establish the precedent in order to meet a great crisis. I had to create my own instrument, the Arbitration Commission. Mr. Wilson had before him the precedent I had created, and he had as instruments ready to hand the Arbitration Board, and the Interstate

Commerce Commission, with its enlarged powers. But he failed to follow the precedent, or to use the instruments which were ready to his hand. I, although lacking the agencies of law for the application of the principle, nevertheless applied it, and established arbitration in the settlement on their merits of industrial disputes. Mr. Wilson, with all the agencies of law subject to his command, ignored them, destroyed the principle of arbitration in the settlement of industrial disputes, and put a premium on securing this settlement by threat and duress.

The President Condemns Himself

President Wilson in his speeches of August 29th and September 23d has furnished his own condemnation out of his own mouth. In them he explicitly condemns exactly what he has done and actually demands legislation which will make impossible the repetition of such a proceeding! This is so extraordinary an attitude that I quote his own words. He said he wished "to provide" against "the recurrence of such unhappy situations in the future" by securing "the calm and fair arbitration of all industrial disputes in the days to come." This is an explicit assertion that arbitration of all industrial disputes is the right method of action; and therefore that he had adopted the wrong method of action—although in the case of the anthracite coal strike he had an exact precedent in point, by following which he would have enforced the right method.

President Wilson further says, "This is assuredly the best way of vindicating a principle, namely, having failed to make certain of its observance in the present to make certain of its observance in the future." On the contrary, this is the very worst way of vindicating a principle. Indeed, it is impossible to devise a worse way of vindicating a principle, than to flinch ignominiously from enforcing it in the case at issue and at the same time to seek to cover the ignominy by vociferous protestations about applying it in the nebulous future. The same paper, the New York Times, from which I quote the above sentences, contained statements from the leaders of the Brotherhoods whom he was befriending, in which they said that they would never con-

sent to the legislation providing for future arbitration for which President Wilson asked; and President Wilson kept a weak and nervous silence about this defiance. He did not get the legislation which he declared was essential to "vindicate the principle" in the future. All that he accomplished was the violation of the principle in the present, in the concrete case at issue. The only law he secured established the precedent of violation of the principle. All that he did was to establish the most evil of all precedents for a democracy, the precedent of violating a principle under the duress of threat and menace. It is a precedent which will return to plague us throughout all future time whenever we have in the White House a President who is timid in the face of threat of physical violence or who subordinates duty to the hope of personal political profit.

President Wilson further said, while trying to gloss over his timidity in the present by assuming an attitude of frowning defiance as regards the nebulous future, that the American people must hereafter be made "a partner in the settlement of disputes that interrupt the life of the nation," that it must "enforce the partnership and see to it that no organization is stronger than that organization to which we all belong, our own Government," and that we the people must say to any outside organization that it "must not interrupt the National life without consulting us." These are fine words about the future. They are intended to cover up, but as a matter of fact, they furnish the strongest condemnation of, Mr. Wilson's deed in the present. In these words Mr. Wilson exactly describes what he ought to have done with the Brotherhoods, and explicitly condemns the action which he in fact took. If the principles he laid down were good for the future, they were good for the present. Do it now, Mr. Wilson! Do not use fine words about what somebody else ought to do in the future in order to cover your own shameful abandonment of duty in the present.

Wages, Not Hours, at Issue

Mr. Wilson has adroitly maintained that the question at issue was the eight-hour day. This is not the fact. The question at issue was the question of wages. The law does

not say that there shall be an eight-hour day. It says that eight hours shall "be made the measure of a day's work for the purpose of receiving compensation." In other words, it was primarily an increase of wages and not a diminution of hours that was aimed at.

Eight-Hour Day the Ideal

I believe in the eight-hour day. It is the ideal toward which we should tend. But I believe that there must be common sense as well as common honesty in achieving the ideal. Mr. Wilson has laid down the principle that there is something sacred about the eight-hour day which makes it improper even to discuss it. If this is so, if it is applied universally, then Mr. Wilson is not to be excused for not applying it immediately where he has complete power, and that is in his own household. If the principle of the eight-hour day is sacred and not to be changed under any circumstances, then the housemaid, who in Mr. Wilson's house, arises at seven must be let off at three in the afternoon; and if Mr. Wilson's butler is kept up after a State dinner until ten, he must not come on until two of the following afternoon, and no hired man on a farm must get up to milk the cows in the morning unless he quits work before milking time arrives that same evening. Of course, the simple truth is that under one set of conditions an eight-hour day may be too long or at least may represent the very maximum of proper work; whereas there may be other conditions under which a man working more than eight hours one day gets one or two days of complete leisure following, or where the work is intermittent throughout the day, or is of so easy or varied a type that no exhaustion accompanies it, or where a rush of work for a few days will be compensated by complete leisure on certain other days. It is ridiculous to say that an engineer of a high-speed train under especially difficult conditions, an engineer of a low-speed train under very much easier conditions, a farm laborer in harvest time, a man engaged as a watchman through the quiet work of the night, or a man engaged in the exhausting work of a steel puddler in a continuous seven-days-a-week, night-and-

day industry, should be governed by precisely the same rule, or by the same rigid application in detail of a second, general principle.

Justice Cannot Be Done Without Full Knowledge of the Facts

I heartily believe in a proper limitation by law of hours of work in the railroad service, and I recommended legislation to that effect when I was President. I believe in the wages in any industry being just as high as it is possible to make them without injustice to the capital invested and to the public which is served. But it is a mere truism to say that it is impossible to get this ideal achieved unless an honest and dispassionate effort is first made by the proper commission to ascertain the full facts in the particular case. As regards the railroads, we have to consider the wages paid to the different classes of employees, the interest on the investment, the earning power of the road, and the kind of service that must be rendered to the public. It is impossible to secure a proper solution of the problem unless all these factors are considered. Mr. Wilson absolutely declined to consider any of them. He declined even to ask what they were. We have not at this moment one particular of trustworthy information which will enable us to decide whether the demands of the men were just or not. I wish it distinctly understood that I am not trying to pass judgment upon the justice of the case. I regard the engineers, firemen and enginemen and trainmen generally as doing peculiarly responsible and arduous work, and entitled to particular consideration as regards both hours of labor and pay. I hope that they are fully entitled *as a matter of justice* to what they will receive under the Adamson bill, and if it so appears I shall heartily support it. But I protest against the far-reaching evil of the precedent set in the method which has been followed. We are denied knowledge. We see Congress forced to act under threats. I protest against any law passed under such duress. I protest against the case being decided without giving each party its day in court, and above all without giving the public its day in court. I hope the demands of the men were just, and would have been proved

so to be, if investigated before a competent body. But I explicitly protest against any action by the Government when no investigation has been held to see whether the claims are or are not just, and when they are granted through fear and not as a matter of right.

The Public Must Pay

Remember, it is the public that in the end will pay. You do not have to take my assertion for this. Take the assertion of Mr. Wilson's master in this matter. The Union leaders, through their Chairman, Mr. Garretson, announced that "they would steadily refuse to arbitrate and that in their action they were supported by the President of the United States." They stated their case in a nutshell as follows: "In times like this, men go back to primal instinct—to the day of the caveman with this half-gnawed bone, snarling at the other caveman who wanted to take his bone away. We leaders are fighting for our men. The railroads are fighting for their stockholders; and the shippers for themselves. And the public will pay." Mr. Garretson is right—the public will pay. And it will pay without having had the chance to know whether it ought or ought not to pay. Mr. Wilson betrayed the public when he refused to insist that the contest should be decided on principles of justice, and when he permitted it to be decided in deference to greed and fear. Mr. Wilson announced that it was "futile" to stand firmly against these improper demands. It would not have been futile if a Democrat of the stamp of Andrew Jackson or Grover Cleveland had been President. The futility inhered solely in Mr. Wilson himself. If President Wilson had stood by the honor and the interests of the United States in this matter; if he had insisted upon a full investigation before action; if he had insisted upon arbitration and had announced that if there was any attempt to tie up the traffic of the United States he would use the entire power of the United States to keep the arteries of traffic open, I would have applauded him and supported him. But, to take such action needed courage. It needed disinterestedness. It was necessary that the man taking it should put duty to the nation first and political and personal considerations last.

What President Wilson did was to permit the overriding of justice by appeals to brute force.

He says that it would have been "futile" to show courage and stand up for the right. From the standpoint of the nation, the worst type of futility in a President is to fail to stand up for the right. President Wilson felt it was futile to oppose these men, exactly as President Buchanan, his spiritual forbear, felt in 1860, that it was futile, to oppose secession. That type of futility gives the real measure of the man who practises it. What Buchanan considered futile Lincoln made heroic.

Mr. Hughes Incapable of Yielding to Threats

I champion Mr. Hughes as against Mr. Wilson because in every such crisis Mr. Wilson, by his public acts, has shown that he will yield to fear, that he will not yield to justice; whereas the public acts of Mr. Hughes have proved him to be incapable of yielding in such a crisis to any threat, whether made by politicians, corporations or labor leaders.

I have always stood for the rights of labor. You miners before me know that. I stood by you, and I incurred the hostility of the greatest financial powers of the land by so doing, and I have felt that hostility in public life ever since. But I did not care, because I knew that my course was right. I stood by you because I believed you were right. If I had been the type of man who was willing to stand by you when you were wrong, I would never have dared to stand by you when you were right, against such opposition as at that time I encountered. I have stood for shorter hours of labor. I have stood for a better wage for the laborer, for better housing conditions; for giving the laboring wageworker better living conditions and better and safer working conditions. I have stood to give him and his wife and his children the chance to make of themselves all that American citizens should make of themselves. I have stood, and always shall stand, for everything in the interest of justice for the laboring man. But I have always stood and always shall stand, against yielding anything through fear or because of threats. I believe in the great principle of arbitration. I believe in invoking the action of the govern-

ment to help labor; but I also believe that to invoke such action will in the end be ruinous to labor, as well as to the country, if it is not exercised with wisdom and fearlessness and in the spirit of exact justice to all the parties concerned. If these questions are not settled right, then some time they will have to be unsettled, and infinite trouble is thereby laid up for us in the future. The only way we can settle them right is by deliberation, after all the facts have been put before a disinterested and competent body, and the judgment of that body obtained thereon. This is the course that even now ought to be pursued as regards the Adamson bill. Its operation has been deferred until after Congress assembles. Congress should hold it up until a proper commission shall investigate the entire subject; and then the Adamson bill should be enacted either unchanged, or with whatever changes and additions the report of such dispassionate commission may show to be desirable and necessary.

Labor leaders who are shortsighted may at the moment get from a man in public office who is not actuated by justice, more than from a man who is actuated by justice. But the laboring people as a whole cannot afford to accept such gains. If unjust legislation is given them for improper reasons, then unjust legislation against them may be enacted for improper reasons. More than any other people in the country, the wageworkers should insist on just and fair action. There is grave reason to believe that in the course President Wilson has followed he did violence to his own real convictions. Until he became a candidate for office he was a bitter, ungenerous and often unjust critic of labor unions. I have before me speeches and letters of his made and written in 1905, 1907 and 1909, in which Mr. Wilson says among other things that "labor unions drag the highest man down to the level of the lowest," and in speaking of the capitalistic class, he says that "there is another equally formidable enemy and it is that class formed by the labor leaders of this country," and again "I am a fierce partisan of the open shop," and again "The usual standard of the employee in our day is to give as little as he can for his wages. Labor is standardized by trade unions and this is the standard to which it is made to conform. I need not

point out how economically disastrous such regulation of labor is. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants." These were the utterances of Mr. Wilson when he was president of a university and had neither fear of nor desire to profit by the labor vote. In Mr. Wilson's "History of the American People" he explicitly stated that the Chinese ought not to be excluded from this country because it is better to have them here than it is to have the immigrants we now get from Europe. His words were: "The Chinese are more to be desired as workmen than most of the coarse crew that come crowding in everywhere at the Eastern ports." Now he turns round and says: "Our gates must be kept open" to those whom he thus denominated a "coarse crew." Since he went into politics he has again and again, incessantly and continuously, reversed himself on what he had professed to be his deepest convictions prior to entering politics, and in each case the announced change of conviction agreed with what at the moment seemed to be his political interest.

If it is alleged that President Wilson has been actuated only by principle in connection with the Adamson law, then, I ask, why has he failed to apply the same principle to the railway postal clerks, where he has full power? Estimating six days to the week, these postal clerks, operating between New York and Pittsburgh, are required to run 205 miles per day (for the present administration has reduced the number of crews from six to five), whereas the present trainmen's agreement requires only 155 miles per day, which is to be reduced still further by the Adamson law. The only possible explanation of Mr. Wilson's action in one case and inaction in the other is that only 400 men are affected in that case where the government has full control of the hours of labor, whereas 400,000 men are supposed to be affected by the Adamson bill.

The Triumvirate in Control of Mexican Affairs

Mr. Gompers has recently established himself as the especial champion of Mr. Wilson, and claims joint credit with Mr. Wilson for their conduct of our foreign affairs

so far as Mexico is concerned. He asks labor to support Mr. Wilson specifically on the ground of Mr. Wilson's attitude in Mexico, which, he states, he has helped to secure. He says, for example, that he was largely instrumental in securing the recognition of Carranza in Mexico, because of Carranza's sympathy with the labor movement there. For the details of what I speak, I refer you to Senator Fall's recent speeches, where the exact quotations are given. Mr. Gompers states that when all other agencies failed in the effort to secure the recognition of Carranza by President Wilson, Gompers intervened on September 22nd, 1915, and Mr. Wilson's recognition of Carranza immediately followed. Mr. Gompers continues by saying that Carranza was recognized as the friend of the working people in Mexico. On September 2nd, 1916, Mr. Gompers appealed for the support of laboring men for Mr. Wilson on the ground of Mr. Wilson's policy as regards Mexico. He thus tied himself up with Messrs. Wilson and Carranza as one of the triumvirate which exercises supreme control in Mexican matters. This makes it worth while for the workers to whom Mr. Gompers especially appeals to study what Carranza, the favored friend and ally of Messrs. Gompers and Wilson, has done to laboring men in Mexico—not to speak of what he has done to Americans in Mexico. Mr. Gompers states that when Carranza refused to surrender the American soldiers taken prisoners at Carrizal, in response to President Wilson's request, he, Mr. Gompers, telegraphed on June 28th last to Carranza appealing to him upon the ground of "patriotism and love" for the release of the American soldiers; and that immediately Carranza responded on June 29th to Mr. Gompers, saying that he had ordered the release of the prisoners. The telegram closed with: "Salute, very affectionately, V. Carranza." Thereupon Samuel Gompers, in the name of the Federation of Labor, on June 30th, thanked General Carranza for releasing the American soldiers.

No Atonement for Murder of American Soldiers

I really question whether we have ever in our history known anything as extraordinary as the President of the United States playing second fiddle in such a manner to the

head of a private organization when dealing with international matters. I wish to call your attention especially to two facts in connection with the incident. Neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Gompers, neither of the two amateur diplomats who thus acted on a footing of fraternal equality in their joint conduct—and misconduct—of American foreign relations made any appeal or demand for atonement for the death of the American soldiers treacherously slain by Carranza's troops. They did nothing about the killing of Boyd and Adair and their troopers. All that they ventured to do was to ask that the American soldiers who had been taken prisoners when their comrades were slain be returned. That was the only request that the joint committee of suppliants for safety, composed of President Wilson and President Gompers, ventured to demand of their master, Mr. Carranza.

Carranza Orders Strikers Shot

There is a further fact which should be considered by the workingmen who are asked to support Carranza by Messrs. Wilson and Gompers on the ground that he is the friend of labor. I have before me a copy of a decree issued by Carranza under date of August 1st, 1916, only ten weeks ago. It has been furnished me by Senator Fall. This decree was issued because the employees of the electric plant and street railroads had struck for higher wages. General Carranza had ordered that they should accept one peso of paper money, that is, ten cents silver, as their daily wage. This they refused to do, and struck. Thereupon General Carranza issued a decree; and remember that General Carranza's government is a purely military government, where neither judges nor legislators have power to interfere in any way with what is done by General Carranza and the military authorities who do his bidding. The decree runs in part as follows: "The military authorities not long ago advised the laboring classes that they would not allow the creation of a tyranny so harmful to the welfare of the Mexican Republic as the tyranny of labor. Notwithstanding this the strike of the employees of the electric light company and of others allied to it is a palpable demonstration that the

workmen have not wished to be persuaded that they form only a small part of society. The suspension of work becomes illegal the moment that the strike not only serves to bring pressure on capital, but also harms society in direct or indirect manner, as is the case with the present strike. The conduct of the labor union in the present case must be considered as anti-patriotic and criminal, and constitutes without doubt an attack on the public peace. In view of the foregoing I have decreed the following as an addition to the existing code: Besides the disturbers of the public peace, punishable by death as heretofore described, the death penalty will also be imposed on the following: Those who may incite the suspension of work in factories or enterprises destined to public service, or who preside over meetings in which it is proposed to discuss or approve such a strike, those who may defend or sustain the same, or who assist in these meetings, and those who endeavor to make the strike effective upon being declared, and those who by threats or force prevent others from rendering their services to the companies or enterprises against which the strike is declared." In short words, this decree is that inasmuch as Mr. Carranza disapproves of the strike ordered by a certain labor organization, any one who strikes, or who attends a strikers' meeting, or who gives assistance or aid to the strikers, shall suffer the death penalty—that is, shall be tried by drumhead courtmartial and immediately shot. This decree was issued on August 1st last.

Nevertheless Gompers Endorses Carranza

Yet Mr. Gompers asked the support of the laboring men of the United States for Mr. Wilson on the ground that he is the sponsor of the military tyrant who issued this decree. It is now announced in the press that Mr. Gompers is negotiating with Mr. Carranza in order to get him to withdraw the decree. If so it will only be until after election. But let all American citizens think deeply before they retain in power an Administration which tolerates such an international alliance as that between Messrs. Wilson, Gompers and Carranza, and such management of its foreign affairs

as Mr. Gompers is carrying on with the countenance, and in the interest, of Mr. Wilson.

Protective Tariff Indispensable

The welfare of the laboring man and the welfare of the farmer taken together represent the foundation of the national welfare. I have always conscientiously endeavored to do everything in my power for the wageworker who worked with his hands and for the farmer. I will do everything that in me lies for their permanent good, *except anything that is wrong*, and that I will do for no man. I speak out of my deepest convictions and as conscientiously as it is in my power to speak when I say to you that I believe that Mr. Wilson's action in connection with the Adamson bill is deeply prejudicial to the real and permanent interests of the laboring man. I say to you with deepest conviction that if you yourself will look back you will find that on the average, the wageworker has prospered more when this country has been under a protective tariff than when the protective tariff has been so low as not to give protection to our immense and varied industries; and above all, to the men working in those industries. As you know, I have always stood for the tariff only to the degree in which the benefit was reasonably shared between the men in the front office and the men who receive the pay envelopes. I stand for that division now. But there must be something to divide, or nobody will get anything.

The Democratic Deficiency Tax

I ask you to look back only two short years. Mr. Wilson was inaugurated as President three years ago last Spring. He and his party immediately passed a low tariff law. Under it Government receipts fell off so alarmingly that there was a great deficit which had to be met by a special tax. This was later called a war tax; but it was not due to the war at all; the decrease in receipts was prior to the war, it was a deficiency tax, pure and simple. As some one pointed out at the time, Canada had a war with no tax; whereas we had a tax with no war. It was purely a deficiency tax.

Widespread Misery Due to Democratic Action

During the first eighteen months of this Administration the national business went to pieces, the sidings of the railroads were jammed with empty cars, and the number of unemployed in every great industry grew to appalling dimensions. I speak here of what I personally know; for less than two years ago I had to take an active part in New York in measures to relieve the unemployed. I then saw municipal lodging houses crowded to overflowing with people desirous of working, who could not get any work, and who did not have enough money to pay for the poorest lodging or the cheapest meals. The unemployed were numbered not by the thousands, but by the scores of thousands; and I was in active correspondence with men and women in other cities, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia, where the conditions were just as bad as in New York. Every kind of provision had to be made, by private charities and by the public authorities, in order to care for the multitude of people who wished to work but who were in dire want because there was no work. The misery was widespread. For instance, the Board of Health of New York had to pass a special resolution allowing the eating of horse meat (I think the exact phraseology gave permission to fatten old horses for slaughter and food), because every effort had to be made to give to those out of work the cheapest food that would sustain life. Remember that those times were normal. There was then no war. We were at peace. We were simply experiencing the normal results of legislative action under Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Administration.

Artificial Stimulus Due to War

The suffering was widespread throughout this country. Suddenly the war came. At one stroke this country was granted a measure of protection greater than any it had ever received under any tariff in its history. Moreover, the demand for munitions of war was stimulated to such an enormous degree as to completely reverse trade conditions. For example, comparing the fiscal years ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1916, that is, the year before the war and the year that has just elapsed, the losses in ordinary exports

during the last year, compared to the former, were over two hundred million dollars; whereas there was a gain in exports of war material of nearly two billion dollars. If it were not for these artificial conditions, the suffering from unemployment in this country at this time would in all probability be as great as it was in 1914, and we would have seen two or three years of an industrial crisis at least as bad as any we have ever known in our history. **The present stimulus is artificial. It will cease with the war conditions coming to an end. It will then be difficult to avoid some suffering anyhow. If Mr. Wilson is kept in office, this suffering will doubtless be prolonged and acute.**

"If You Will Steal For Me, You Will Steal From Me"

In short, you miners of Pennsylvania, I appeal to you, and I appeal to all wageworkers of the United States, both in the name of sound American citizenship, and also in the name of your real and permanent self-interest. No American citizen can afford to put the stamp of his approval on any law supposed to be passed for the benefit of anybody without investigation, under duress of threats or for fear of the loss of political power. I ask any men who are tempted to approve of the politician, big or little, whom they think has helped them by doing wrong in their interest, to remember that the man who for his profit does wrong in your interest will just as unhesitatingly do wrong against your interest, if ever he thinks it to his profit to do so.

In the old days, thirty years ago, when I lived on a cow ranch in the short grass country, the branding iron and the cowboy took the place of fences, and our herds were managed by branding each calf with the brand of the cow it followed. If the calf was not branded the first year, then the next year when it was an unbranded yearling, it was called a maverick. By range law we were supposed to brand each maverick with the brand of the ranch on which it was found. One day I was riding across a neighbor's ranch with a puncher I had just hired, and we came across a maverick. We got down our ropes, threw the maverick, and built a little fire of sagebrush to heat one of the cinch rings; and the puncher started to run on the brand. I said, "Put on

the thistle brand"—the brand of the range we were on. He answered, "All right, boss, I know my business"; and in another minute he had put on my brand, remarking, "I always put on the boss's brand." I answered, "Well—go back to the ranch and get your time." He jumped up and said, "What's that for? I was putting on your brand, wasn't I?" I answered, "Yes, my friend, you were putting on my brand, *and if you will steal for me you will steal from me!*"

This is a good rule to remember, for laboring men, farmers, professional men, business men, for all citizens of the United States, in dealing with their public servants. If a public servant will do wrong to please any particular class, it may be taken as absolutely certain that he will do wrong against the interest of that particular class whenever it becomes to his own profit to do so.

NATIONAL RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL DUTY

Louisville, Kentucky, October 18, 1916

AT the outset of my speech I wish to point out, as I have elsewhere pointed out, that the doctrine now often advanced as to the impropriety of criticising the President, without any regard as to whether the criticism is or is not just, has no warrant either in history or on grounds of public morality. Andrew Jackson in a message to the Senate on April 15th, 1834, put the case exactly as it should be put. He said :

“The President is accountable at the bar of public opinion for every act of his administration. Subject only to the restraints of truth and justice, the free people of the United States have the undoubted right, as individuals, or collectively, orally or in writing, at such times and in such language and form as they may think proper, to discuss his official conduct and express and promulgate their opinions concerning it.”

This lays down the law that should be followed. There must be truth and justice in all that is said of the President, or of any one else; but less than any one other man in the nation has he the right to claim immunity from any criticism that is both just and truthful. I criticise President Wilson because his deeds have belied his words, and his words have belied one another.

Mr. Wilson's Promises Broken

Mr. Wilson's promises before election, both those made in his own speeches, and those made in the platform, have been so well-nigh invariably broken, that the breaking of them has become a subject for jest even among his own

friends. One of Mr. Wilson's prominent Democratic supporters in Congress stated with refreshing frankness the exact truth about Mr. Wilson's pre-election promises, and those made on his behalf, when in answer to some charge of inconsistency, he responded by saying that "Our platform was made to get into office on—and we have won." You will find this remark on page 4618 of the Congressional Record, the Third Session of the 62nd Congress. It is impossible to study Mr. Wilson's pre-election promises and post-election performances; it is impossible to compare the diametrically opposed attitudes he has assumed at different times on almost every public question; it is impossible to compare what he says in one set of speeches with what he says in another set, without feeling that what this congressional supporter of his said of his platform applies also to his speeches.

Now, I do not regard such action on the part of Mr. Wilson and his followers, and the cynical frankness with which they avow it, as a matter for jest. I doubt if it is possible more effectively to undermine public morality in this country than by accustoming the people to regard promises made in politics with cynical amusement as intended only for purposes of deception. A high-minded man regards a promise made on the stump by a candidate for office, a promise intended to secure the support of those to whom it is made, as a pledge which it is as imperatively necessary to redeem as if it were made in private life to a private individual; and its subsequent repudiation in one case can only be justified by conditions substantially like those which would justify it in the other case. An honorable man will scorn an untruth on the stump just as much as off the stump. An honorable man will break a promise made publicly in a political campaign just as reluctantly as he will break a promise made to another man in private life. An honorable man keeps faith in public life no less than in private life.

Mr. Wilson's Speeches

President Wilson's speeches are models of adroit, indirect suggestion and avoidance of downright statement. But the other day at Omaha he seems to have committed

himself to the statement that he was "willing to fight," but was "waiting for something worth fighting for," for something which would "put all the corpuscles of his blood into shouting shape." It would be interesting to know exactly what outrage on American citizens, or on the rights of humanity anywhere, which would make him cross the line between being "willing to fight" and "too proud to fight." He certainly did not regard the treacherous murder of Boyd and Adair, and this United States, as "something worth fighting for." He did not even write a note about it. The murder of 1394 men, women and children on the *Lusitania* did not "put all the corpuscles of his blood into shouting shape." His corpuscles did not shout; they did not even whisper; apparently all they did was to suggest to him that it was a happy occasion for his classic remark about being "too proud to fight." I am tempted to think that Mr. Wilson did himself an injustice when he said that he was "willing to fight" either for any great cause or on account of any wrong hereafter done to this country; and that the truth was expressed the other day by his eager eulogist, Secretary Baker, when he said that he was "glad" that "no one could insult Mr. Wilson and make him go to war." Unquestionably General Carranza, and probably Herr von Tirpitz, heartily agree with Secretary Baker—and deep in his own heart I am inclined to believe that Mr. Wilson himself also agrees with him.

Preaching Degrading Doctrine

Two of Mr. Wilson's most distinguished champions, one official and one non-official, take the same view. Secretary Lane stated that the fact that "American citizens have been killed by outlaws and bandits" was a proper subject for "much regret" but not for "sacrificing the blood of our sons." Does he think that a woeful allusion of "regret" is the way to move bandits? Dr. Charles W. Eliot, former President of Harvard, praises Mr. Wilson for having made a "great contribution to the peace of the world and to the promotion of humane and just dealings between nations," by having "gone far to establish as the American policy the policy of non-intervention by force of arms for the protection of miners, commercial adventurers, investors and

workmen in foreign parts," and by having refused to adopt the "malign suggestion" to protect the lives of these men "by punitive expeditions and compelled agreements." Reduced to concrete terms, this statement of Dr. Eliot is that President Wilson is greatly to be praised because he took no action when some nineteen fine, unoffending, hard-working and totally unarmed American miners, and engineers, were taken from a railroad train, tortured and murdered by an armed Mexican force. Dr. Eliot has been a severe censor of political morals, strong in his condemnation of bosses, crooked politicians, and demagogic labor leaders; but no corrupt boss, no crooked politician or labor leader, no conscienceless capitalist, has ever preached or practised a more degrading doctrine, a doctrine more ruinous to the soul and the manhood of this nation, or more destructive to humanity and justice in the world at large, than the doctrine thus set forth by this former College President. There can be no more severe condemnation of Mr. Wilson than to say that he is not unworthy of such praise. American women are raped and American children murdered in Mexico; American men are tortured to death; hundreds of our people are slain; continual forays are made into our own territory; Mexico itself is utterly devastated and its people slaughtered by the hundred thousand; and Dr. Eliot denounces as a "malign suggestion" any proposal to put a stop to these horrors in the only way by which it is possible to stop them. It would be unfair to China to compare Dr. Eliot with even an old-school Chinese statesman. If he really represents the American people, then let us by all means abandon the Monroe Doctrine, and preparedness, and patriotism and every form of manliness, national and individual; let us leave Mexico to be set straight by Germany or England or Japan; and let us sit in helpless folly at home until some virile nation makes us what we would under such conditions deserve to be made—the hewers of wood and drawers of water for alien conquerors. But if we Americans are fit sons of our sires, if we are worthy of our forefathers of the days of Washington, if we are entitled to claim kinship with the valiant souls who wore the blue in the armies of Grant or the gray in the armies

of Lee, let us treat such counsel with the derision it deserves, and view with deep suspicion the President who has earned such support.

Not Too Proud to Fight Small Nations

There was probably no American outside his own immediate following more anxious to see Mr. Wilson succeed, and more disappointed when he failed, than I was. I criticize him only because my duty as an American citizen, proud of his country and jealous of her honor, forces me to stand against him. Apparently the chief claim advanced for Mr. Wilson now is that he has "kept us out of war." Mr. Wilson himself said in effect the other day that if he was not elected we would have war. Yet Mr. Wilson, through the Democratic platform, announces that "the Mexicans have made war upon us, and have murdered our citizens." Apparently Mr. Wilson does not mind the Mexicans being at war with us, as long as we are not at war with the Mexicans. Mr. Wilson's conception of war painfully resembles that described by Mr. Stephen Leacock in his anecdote of how Mr. Smith took Mr. Tompkins by the coat collar from behind and began kicking him vigorously, "and the fight continued in this manner for several minutes." The war out of which Mr. Wilson has not kept us with Mexico has been waged in precisely this manner; and Mr. Wilson's attitude has been precisely as dignified as that of the mishandled hero of Leacock's anecdote. And the great military nations of the old world have treated Mr. Wilson, and through Mr. Wilson have treated Uncle Sam, in similar fashion. However, in one case Mr. Wilson asserted himself. Hayti had not behaved towards us one hundredth part as badly as Mexico, nor one-tenth as badly as Germany; but Hayti had neither army nor navy, Hayti did not even have arms and ammunition, and therefore President Wilson was not too proud to fight Hayti. He has taught the world that no nation which is small enough to be helpless can insult us with impunity. Are you proud of the record, you Americans of Kentucky, you whose fathers were once not too proud to fight? Mr. Wilson has "kept us out of war" forsooth! Why, on our eastern coast war now grins

at us from just outside the three-mile limit, and on our southern border war has been waged on us within our own territory again and again by bands of armed invaders during the last three years.

In his great book on international law, Vattel defines war as "the effort to assert rights by violence." The Mexicans, during Mr. Wilson's term, have killed more Americans than the Spaniards killed in the Spanish War. We have now gathered on the Mexican border, and have kept there for three months, a far larger army than the combined armies that took Cuba and the Philippines from the Spaniards—and I throw in all the men on the American squadrons. There are down on the Mexican border at present more than ten times as many men as were in Mexico under Scott and Taylor combined in our war with Mexico. We have had all the bloodshed and expense of war, but we have not secured what follows a wise, righteous and manful war—peace.

The exact value of the Mexican "good will" which President Wilson has obtained by his policy of tame submission to the murder and outrage of our citizens can be gathered from the following statement in one of his chief newspaper organs, the New York World, of Oct. 10th:

"CARRANZA ENVOYS IN FIRMER ATTITUDE

"U-Boat Exploits Give Them Hope That We Shall Have More Complications.

(From a Staff Correspondent of the World)

"ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Oct. 9.—The activities of German submarines off the American coast and the possibility that another crisis may arise between the United States and Germany had an appreciable effect upon the Mexican conference here today.

"The Carranza delegates were elated at the prospect of this country being involved in further international entanglements, and their attitude stiffened considerably."

This statement is well worth serious consideration. It comes from one of President Wilson's close organs. It

shows that the Carranza Government, which owes its very existence to President Wilson, eagerly awaits the opportunity to join with any hostile old-world power against us. This is the fine flower of President Wilson's policy in Mexico. He has permitted the country to be ruined and its people decimated. He has permitted our own people to be murdered unchecked. He has prostituted our national honor to the bandits whose cause he has espoused. And he has won from these bandits only a venomous and treacherous hostility to the United States.

Our Citizens Abandoned

For three years there has been no protection of our citizens abroad. The rights of a citizen of the United States to demand the protection of his Government when wronged by a foreign power have been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, when it said (83 U. S., p. 79) : "It is the privilege of a citizen of the United States to demand the care and protection of the Federal Government over his life, liberty and property when on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of a foreign government." This applied to our citizens on the Lusitania and the Arabic who lost their lives from German submarines. It applied to our citizens in Mexico and Chihuahua, who lost their lives at the hands of the Mexican soldiers of Carranza. It applied to the Americans whose property was taken in violation of the principles of international law by the English fleet. The right to life comes ahead of the right of property, and unless we first deal with the offenses against the lives of our citizens, we have no justification for dealing with offenses against the property rights of our citizens. But if we had done our duty in the first case, it would then have become incumbent upon us to do our duty in the latter case. At this moment our first duty should be to see that American citizens, especially women and children, shall not be set afloat in rowboats miles off our coast on the October seas, as a result of submarine attacks on merchant vessels. The German U-boats in effect established a "pacific" blockade of our coast. The "guarantee" of the safety of non-combatants aboard the vessels recently torpedoed off our

coast was carried out by American destroyers, not by the German submarines; if the Germans had themselves made good, and intended to make good, their guarantee, there would have been no necessity for American destroyers to be present.

The Course of Dishonor Followed

At the outset of this war Mr. Wilson had one of two courses to follow. He could by deeds stand up for our own rights against everyone, and champion the rights of the weak against the strong in all cases; or else he could submit to our being wronged by everyone, and acquiesce tamely when wrongs were committed by the strong against the weak, even although we had covenanted that such wrongs should not be committed. The first was the course of honor, of temporary risk and of permanent safety. He did not follow it. The second was the course of dishonor, of temporary safety and of permanent danger. He followed it. As to the course we ought to have followed, it is to be found laid down in his own utterances, and in the platform of his own party. He has himself specifically stated, and in the party platform the statement was reiterated, that "We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power . . . in the interests of humanity to assist the world in securing justice. We believe that the small states of the world have the right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity that the great powers insist upon. We again declare fully the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad." I ask all decent men, all right-thinking men of straightforward minds, whether there ever has been ranker hypocrisy than the use of such expression by the man, and the men, who, when the conditions they thus set forth were met to a dot, to a line, in the case of the killing of our men, women and children on the high seas and in Mexico, and in the case of the invasion of Belgium by Germany, instantly forgot their duty to America, to humanity and justice, and took no action to back up their high-sounding words? President Wilson has seen the lives of some five

hundred Americans taken, afloat and ashore; but never in one case has he made good the promise of his platform. As soon as Belgium was invaded Mr. Wilson instantly forgot his "concern" for the "rights and sovereignty of small states," and announced that we must be neutral not only in deed, but in thought, between right and wrong, and that we had no concern with the European war, and that the combatants (including the Belgians, who were fighting for their wives, children and hearthstones) were all merely "madmen." Out of their own mouths President Wilson and his party supporters stand condemned for their action and their inaction.

Our Rights Abandoned

This case of Belgium was the first of Mr. Wilson's international sins. It combined lofty promise and complete failure in performance. It consisted of words which were nullified by deeds. In these respects he made it the precedent which he followed ever afterwards. He followed it when he wrote his "strict accountability" note to Germany and then for a year held Germany to no accountability, either strict or loose, while it sunk ship after ship with thousands of non-combatants, including hundreds of Americans; and no atonement has been made for the lives thus lost to this day. When he dealt with our property rights, he announced to England that the United States intended fearlessly to accept the "championship" of neutral rights. But, as in the case of his note to Germany, he did nothing to back up his words. They were words and nothing else. He said he would hold Mexico to a "strict responsibility," and he did not hold her to any responsibility. He said he would hold Germany to "strict accountability," and he did not hold her to any accountability. He said that the English blockade was illegal, ineffective, and indefensible; and he neither made his words good nor acted on them. He announced that he would insist on all our rights; and then he abandoned them all. He wrote strong notes, to both sides; and he took no action to back up the notes to either side. We accomplished nothing with either side. We incurred resentment from both sides. In just one

respect we have succeeded. We have induced the belligerents to agree on one point. They agree in their utter contempt for America, in their conviction that the American people cannot be goaded into virile action to defend the lives of their men, women and children, and in their certainty that we are actuated only by the desire to profit by the agonies of our European brothers.

No Real Leadership in Washington

Instead of speaking softly and carrying a big stick, President Wilson spoke bombastically and carried a dishrag. For these offenses against us I blame the Germans, for nothing can excuse their jeopardizing and taking the lives of men, women and children; and I do not believe that under like circumstances we would have done what they have done. For their less heinous offenses against our property rights I blame the British, but I blame them much less, and I do believe that under like circumstances we would have acted in the same way, if other nations would have let us. But I blame the United States even more than I blame Germany, and far more than I blame England, for in our case there has been no splendid alloy of heroism to offset the wrong-doing. Our offenses have been those of cold, shortsighted selfishness and of a mean timidity which has invited, and has therefore been partly responsible for, the German and British offenses against us. We could have stopped them had we had any real leadership in Washington; had we shown any firmness of soul and readiness to make effort and encounter risk for high ideals. "Kept us out of war!" If the Wilson administration could point to one sacrifice this nation has made for the right, to one indication of willingness to face loss on behalf of a principle, it might deserve some credit. But it deserves none. Thanks to President Wilson, we have shown ourselves too craven to stand up for our own rights, or for the rights of weaker peoples. If we had done as we ought to have done, our neutrality would have been a badge of honor and not one of shame. If we had shown emphatically that we intended to give a square deal to everyone, and to demand a square deal for and from everyone; if we had done

for Mexico what under President McKinley we did for Cuba; if we had protested against the invasion of Belgium; if we had summarily stopped the murder of our men, women and children by German submarines, and had then effectively asserted the freedom of the seas against the British, we would certainly have brought about the recognition of our rights, and very possibly would have inspired sufficient confidence and respect in the belligerents to have enabled us to secure peace before this time. Had we so acted, we would have proved ourselves loyal Americans in the first place, and in the next place we would have shown a veritable, instead of a sham, loyalty to humanity. We would have proved that our devotion to humanity was more than mere lip worship. But let it be understood from the beginning that never can we or any other nation take such a position unless there is both preparation in advance, and also the willingness to sacrifice something in order to compel the observance of the nation's own sovereign rights, and in addition to enable it to perform its duty to the rest of mankind.

THE MEXICAN INIQUITY

Phoenix, Arizona, October 21, 1916

WHAT has happened to our people in Mexico and here along the border, offers the clearest possible illustration of what happens to any nation whose government behaves with the vacillation and timidity shown by Mr. Wilson in our foreign affairs wherever he has had to deal with any foe of whom he was in the slightest degree afraid.

In Mexico when the Revolution gathered headway, there were many foreigners. There were English, Germans, Japanese and French. There were also Americans, Spaniards and Chinese. Mexico was afraid of and respected Germany, England, Japan and France. She neither feared nor respected the United States or China; and she did not believe that Spain at the moment could act against her. In consequence it appears that during these disturbances, as far as can be gathered, there has not been one German killed in Mexico, and only one Englishman and two Frenchmen. I can not find that any Japanese were killed. These figures may not be quite accurate, but they are substantially accurate. The minute the Frenchmen were killed, the French Government served such summary notice on Mexico that it has been exceedingly careful not to kill any others. When the Englishman, Benton, was killed, not merely did England flame up, but it is actually true that far more interest was excited in this country than was shown over all of our own men, women and children who were killed in Mexico. There have been no further outrages on the lives of British subjects. The Germans are not only safe, but at Tampico, for instance, enjoy special privileges. The Japanese enjoy the same consideration. But meanwhile, according to the best information at our disposal, the Mexicans have killed over three hundred Chinese; over five hundred Americans; and at least a couple of hundred Spaniards. I ask you to con-

sider these facts. The Mexicans have not killed a single German and only one Englishman. But they have killed several hundred Americans and several hundred Chinese. They class the Germans and Englishmen as belonging to nations able to protect the lives of their citizens; whereas, thanks to Mr. Wilson, they regard the Americans and Chinese as equally safe to murder, outrage and plunder. I ask the people of this country to consider these facts for themselves, and to draw their own conclusions; and if they have ordinary self-respect, if they have feelings of ordinary patriotism, they cannot consent to continue in power the Administration that is responsible for such a condition of affairs.

American Citizenship a Handicap

The natural effect of this policy is shown by the fact that it is no longer safe for foreign companies in Mexico to have American employees or to be operated under an American name. Instance after instance of this kind has been brought to my attention with the personal request that I do not use it for fear that damage should come to those giving me the information. I know case after case where this has been true of industrial, mining and pastoral enterprises, but where my informants feared for their lives if the information was made public. There are, however, published statements of specific instances to the same effect. For example, I saw a public statement issued by the Santa Gertrudis Company, Limited, issued at London the 21st of July last, which notifies the shareholders that it has become necessary "to withdraw the American management and staff, and to arrange for the continuance of operations under English and Mexican management." I have received letter after letter from men in Mexico, who have stated that they have tried to obtain German or English citizenship and abandon American citizenship because as Americans they were liable to insult and murder, and as Germans or Englishmen they were comparatively safe. I know a Boer who was deported by the English from South Africa after the Boer war, but who in Mexico has established his rights as an Englishman, not as an American citizen, because our government gives no protection to its people.

Actions Due to Fear

Thanks to President Wilson and the professional pacifists it is safe for Mexican bandits to murder Americans and Chinese, and to take their property, and the murderers and bandits are encouraged by the acts and utterances of the President of the United States and his authorized representatives. Remember also that these bandits are the worst foes of the decent citizens of Mexico, and that these honest and law-abiding Mexicans have been the people most damaged by President Wilson's policy of tame submission to infamy. What President Wilson's motives are it is hard to guess. As reported in the press, not a few of Mr. Wilson's own supporters take the ground that he acts in this manner because he is influenced by downright fear. On August 8th last it was announced in the press that Mr. Frank B. Vrooman, Democratic National Committeeman, of Colorado, stated at Denver that "President Wilson had wisely avoided war with Mexico because there are 400,000 Japanese soldiers in Mexico, and because both Germany and Japan are planning to overthrow the Monroe Doctrine, and therefore war with Mexico would mean war with both these countries." Mr. Vrooman's premises are unsound. There is slight reason to believe that there are as many as 4000 Japanese of military age in Mexico. But his statement, if correctly reported (and it has not been contradicted), is a frank admission and assertion of his belief, the belief of one of President Wilson's close political admirers and supporters, that President Wilson is afraid to interfere in Mexico, because he is afraid lest Germany and Japan stop us when we try to exact atonement for the murder of American citizens and the destruction of American property. Recently Vice-President Marshall is reported in the press as having said that for us to take action in Mexico (in defense of the lives and property of our people) would be to "make war on Berlin," and that therefore we must not act against Mexico. I have seen no denial of this statement. In other words, these champions of Mr. Wilson justify his conduct—conduct otherwise utterly inexplicable—on the ground that he is afraid to protect American life in Mexico, lest he thereby offend great old-world powers. Why, if this state-

ment is true, it is itself the bitterest indictment of Mr. Wilson's policy, and proves his abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine. His own friends thus announce that he tamely acquiesces in the murder of American men, and the outrage of American women by Mexican bandits for fear that he should offend Japan and Germany. For the three and a half years of his term of office he has kept us in a condition of such military and naval impotence that we dare not assert even such elementary rights as that American citizens shall be secure in life and property, not merely in a foreign land, but even within our own borders—for remember that scores of our citizens have been killed and wounded within our own boundaries.

Mr. Wilson Condemns Himself

Remember always that the infamies that have been committed in Mexico have been explicitly set forth by President Wilson himself through his Secretary of State on June 20 last. President Wilson, in the course of his efforts to shield Carranza, denounced the truthful statement of the hideous conditions in Mexico as being a "traffic in falsehood" designed to "create intolerable friction between our Government and Carranza's in the interest of certain owners of Mexican properties." He made these deliberate charges on March 20th last. Senator Fall promptly challenged President Wilson to name these alleged conspirators and also challenged him to make public the documents in the State Department. As always when challenged fearlessly, President Wilson promptly flinched. He has not dared to publish the documents in the State Department, and by failing to publish the names of the alleged conspirators during these seven months, he has admitted that his statement was without foundation in fact. But this is not all. His note of June 20th is the fullest and most complete admission of all that has been charged and all that he has denied or palliated. The facts therein set forth furnish a complete and irrefutable condemnation of his own policy towards Mexico and towards Carranza.

This authoritative statement issued by Mr. Wilson through his Secretary of State sets forth that for three years there has been continuous bloodshed and disorder in

Mexico; that Americans have been barbarously murdered, and vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise destroyed; that the murderers have not been brought to justice; that during the past nine months there have been constant invasions, depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits; that American soldiers have been killed; American ranches raided, American railway trains wrecked and plundered, and American towns destroyed; and that Carranza's soldiers and adherents took part in the looting, burning and killing; that the murders were characterized by ruthless brutality and barbarous mutilation; that some of the leaders in these atrocities have not only received protection, but encouragement and aid from Carranza's Government; that during this time there was instance after instance of the barbarous slaughter of unoffending Americans in Mexico itself, in addition to the heinous crimes committed in murdering, burning and plundering on American soil; that Carranza's generals made no effort to stop the crimes, and that Carranza himself was either unable, or else considered it undesirable, to punish the criminals; that Carranza gave neither co-operation nor assistance to the American troops who pursued the bandits; that on the contrary, Carranza's adherents halted the American pursuit at Parral and became the protectors of Villa and his bandits; and that Carranza's Government has shown that it does not intend or desire that the outlaws, bandits and criminals who have been guilty of these murders and outrages shall be captured, destroyed or dispersed, either by American troops or by Mexican troops.

In the above statement I have used the exact words of Mr. Wilson's Secretary, merely condensing the statement and keeping exactly its sense. I have not used one word not contained in the statement. No indictment by me of Mr. Wilson's policy could be as strong as that furnished by himself. Immediately afterwards occurred the treacherous murder of our troops at Carrizal. Then Mr. Wilson became frightened, bowed in abject submission to Carranza, kissed the hand that was red with the blood of American men and women, and, inasmuch as he dared not hold Car-

ranza responsible, began in unmanly fashion to scold Carranza's wretched American victims.

Mr. Wilson says he has "kept us out of war." The Democratic platform says that the Mexicans "have made war upon and murdered our people." For once the Democratic platform told the truth. Mr. Wilson says that some of the murdered men were barbarously mutilated. In the press one such case of mutilation is described. Two troopers of the 12th U. S. Cavalry, Henry Stubblefield and Richard Johnson, one from Virginia and one from New York, were killed by Carranza's troops at Progreso, Texas, on September 29th, 1915. Stubblefield's body was found soon after the fight. Johnson was reported missing, but Mexican prisoners informed our officers that Johnson had been tortured and beheaded, his body thrown into the Rio Grande, and his head and ears cut off and displayed to the populace of the Mexican town of Concepcion as evidence that American troops had been routed. This was not an exceptional instance; it was typical of what has gone on unchecked in Mexico.

What Could Have Been Done

Mr. Wilson and his followers are fond of asking, when we criticize his action, "What would you have done?" Either one of two courses could properly have been followed. It would have been defensible to have recognized Huerta, in view of the fact that other great powers had recognized him; and, of course, it was quite indefensible to refuse to recognize him and yet recognize Benavides in Peru, and Carranza in Mexico. In such event we would have held Huerta to "strict responsibility" by acts, for restoring order in Mexico and for protecting American life and property.

This course would have been defensible. Personally, it seems to me that it would have been even better to have done exactly what Mr. Wilson said he would do, but did not do. He said to Congress on August 27th, 1913: "We should let everyone who assumes to exercise authority in any part of Mexico know in the most unequivocal way that we shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who can-

not get away, and shall hold those responsible for their sufferings and losses to a definite reckoning. This can be and will be put beyond the possibility of a misunderstanding." On the same day he sent to the American Consul-General and Consular Agents in Mexico two telegrams instructing them "to notify all officials, military or civil, exercising authority, that they would be held strictly responsible for any harm done to Americans or for injury to their property." These were fine words. Excellent words! They were as good as the words in the Democratic Platform, four years ago and now, to the effect that all American citizens, at home and abroad, must be protected in their rights, and no wrongs permitted against their persons or property. The trouble is that neither the promises and menaces of President Wilson nor the pledges in the Democratic platform were worth the paper on which they were written or the breath expended in uttering them.

Disgraceful Withdrawal at Tampico

Mr. Wilson's notice was explicit and emphatic. If he had meant what he said and if he had possessed the smallest fraction of the resolution and courage of such a Democratic President as Andrew Jackson he would have lived up to this notice. He would have acted at once against every leader, whether Huerta, Villa or Carranza or any one else, who permitted injury to American life and property or who failed to prevent it; and if necessary, he would have sent some such man as General Leonard Wood into the country to behave precisely as we behaved in Cuba, to rehabilitate Mexico and to restore her to her people just as we did in the case of Cuba, when order and civilization again obtained in the country. Instead of doing this, President Wilson stood idly by while hundreds of Americans were murdered. He has not protected American lives and American property. All that he has done has been from time to time to help one bandit leader against some other bandit leader. The Tampico incident furnishes the best proof of this fact. There were 2300 American refugees in Tampico, whose lives were threatened by the Mexican revolutionists. American gunboats were in the harbor to

protect them. But President Wilson was not concerned with their protection. He was concerned solely with helping his then friend Villa, and antagonizing Villa's foe, Huerta. He was furnishing Villa with the arms which Villa used for the slaughter of Americans. We have it on the authority of Mr. Wilson's friend and champion, Senator Lewis, of Illinois, that Mr. Wilson actually intended to recognize Villa, the murderer, raider and robber, as President, but was afraid to do so because of the Republican opposition. The American ships at Tampico were withdrawn from this duty of protecting the lives of American men, women and children from would-be murderers, and were sent to operate against Huerta at Vera Cruz, in the interest of Villa. The Americans owed their lives to the protection of the German and British warships. Whether this dreadful betrayal of duty was due immediately to the direct action of Secretary Daniels, or to the action of the officers whom he had put in charge at Tampico and Vera Cruz, is of no consequence. The ultimate responsibility for this and for all the other shameful episodes in Mexico, rests directly on President Wilson himself.

Mexico Ruined

President Wilson has seen the Mexicans during these three and a half years become socially, politically and morally bankrupt. He has not helped Mexico. He has ruined Mexico. The jungle is creeping over the great plantations. The cattle on the ranches have been wantonly and wastefully slaughtered. The thoroughbred stock farms which were the work of decades have been destroyed. Irrigation plants are out of service, railroad terminals have been burnt, rolling stock and locomotives broken up and damaged beyond repair. Mines that furnished employment to scores of thousands are standing idle. The National Treasury has been emptied. A paper currency, debased and worthless, has been substituted for the nation's money. All the means of an orderly economic life have been destroyed. An epidemic of typhus rages that twice has menaced the health of our border cities. The country no longer produces sufficient foodstuffs. Actual starvation is upon the people. Sixty thousand white men, who were one of the

great civilizing and developing forces of Mexico, are in exile. The jungle, the desert and a cruel, primitive savagery hold sway. Carranza's government is but a shell of authority, based on murder and plunder, limited to a few of the larger cities and railroad lines, in antagonism to every organizing force upon which a government can rest. The absolute refusal of the outside world to lend it money is evidence of the low credit in which it is held, and is also a grim commentary on Mr. Wilson's folly in assailing the American miners, ranchers, workingmen, investors and business men, who alone rendered possible a healthy prosperity in Mexico.

In the message above referred to President Wilson said that it was our duty to discharge the trust that "the great powers of the world had placed in our hands with reference to Mexico." But he has done nothing to discharge this trust. He has sent our sailors and soldiers to invade Mexican soil. These men have shot down Mexicans and have themselves been killed. But nothing has resulted, except to increase the hatred of the Mexicans for Americans. He has continually protested that he would not intervene in Mexico, and yet he has intervened continually, in every way, from diplomacy to war; but always with futility, and always with timidity. He has sinned heavily against Mexico. He has sinned against humanity. He has sinned most heavily against the United States. He has allowed Mexico to drift into bloody anarchy. Mexico needs peace and security. We can give peace and security to Mexico, but only if we show courage and resolution. If we fail, then some foreign power will, in the end, itself do the task, and make Mexico its servant, to our own irreparable damage. Mr. Wilson is inviting this disaster.

Mexico and the Panama Canal

It can not be a matter of indifference to us what kind of a government arises in Mexico. Mexico in its geographical and physical aspects, with the Panama Canal adjoining, represents to the United States what the Balkans and Asia Minor represent to Europe. There the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal are the prize, valuable as the Panama Canal is valuable to us, as a source of profit and national power.

After a decade of internal warfare and struggle in the Balkans, the present world war resulted. If we let Mexico sink into permanent anarchy, and show ourselves too feeble to restore order, then sooner or later some old-world military power will itself step in and take possession, with results as disastrous to us as the anarchy in the Balkan peninsula has been disastrous to Europe. Mexico, like Asia Minor, is a mountainous peninsula. It dominates the Caribbean and has immediate access to both ends of the Panama Canal. The government in Mexico must necessarily interact with and upon the governments and population of the northern half of the South American continent. A strong and stable government in Mexico, working in harmonious relations with the United States, could establish security for property and make it possible for American enterprise to carry railroads, irrigation works and other benefits of civilization into that territory. The development of the Mexican railroad net would enable the United States, in case the need ever arose, to help ward off aggression by a foreign power. A railroad extending to the Panama Canal would give us access by land to the Canal, with which the future of the United States is so intimately bound up. Such a Mexican government, representing the best forces of that country, would be eager to work with us by the free exchange of what they have to give in return for the advantages of what we can offer them. Such a government would be of incalculable benefit to Mexico itself, and would also add greatly to the security of the United States. A weak, disorganized Mexican government as a willing or unwilling ally of a foreign power, hostile to our country, might do us irreparable damage.

Intelligence and Self-Sacrifice Necessary

It will take foresight, intelligence and self-sacrifice on the part of our statesmen and our people to solve these problems in the right way now so as to ward off danger in the future. President Wilson's policies have been without plan or purpose; he has not looked beyond tomorrow; he has had no objects aside from momentary political profit at home, and possibly the gratification of personal spite toward, or personal favoritism for, some particular bandit.

His attitude has shifted hither and thither. At an enormous expense to all that is good and stable in Mexico and at a terrible cost of American lives, property and prestige, he has lifted Carranza into power. Through the maneuvering of an A-B-C convention he placed him upon his shaky pedestal and today, by the expedient of another I-O-U convention, he is trying to prop and bolster the tottering structure. Yet at this very time, Carranza's government, which is wholly the child of President Wilson's diplomacy, turns against us, and thereby foreshadows the course that this same man Carranza would take if, by the aid of such loans, as it has been vaguely hinted that the present Administration is trying to secure for him in financial circles, his government would become strong. This is shown in the *New York World*, Wilson's administration organ. In a dispatch from its special representative at Newport, on October 10th, it set forth that as soon as the German submarines began to operate off the coast, the Carranza delegates at the conference "became elated at the prospect of this country becoming involved in further international entanglements and their attitude stiffened considerably." The threat thus revealed in the attitude of these Carranza agents is a sinister omen of the future danger that lurks in Mr. Wilson's diplomacy. Some day this diplomacy will be paid for by this country in the bloodshed, suffering and disaster of war.

PREPAREDNESS: MILITARY, INDUSTRIAL AND SPIRITUAL

Denver, Colorado, October 24, 1916

I SPEAK to you especially of the prime duty of self-defense. I abhor unjust and wanton war. I shall always do, as I always have done, everything to secure honorable and lasting peace. But it is folly to say that we shall never be engaged in war. The events of the past two years show that as the world now is, such an assumption by any nation is not only folly, but criminal folly. Washington, who was the very opposite of the pacifists of his day, said that this country could not expect always to avoid war. His words were true then. They are true now. If this nation continues its national existence long enough it is sure at some time in the future to be involved in war exactly as at times in the past it has been involved in war. Our prime duty is so to prepare as to minimize the number of occasions when war will come and to ensure that, when it does come, it shall result neither dishonorably nor disastrously for the American people. At this moment we are not ready in any way, physically or spiritually, to face a serious foe. We owe this lamentable fact to several causes, but especially to the evil leadership given our people in high places. Mr. Wilson has not only been too proud to fight, but has also been too proud to prepare.

The people of this country should provide for a first-class navy, a navy relative to the other powers what our navy was in February, 1909, when the battle-fleet returned from the cruise around the world. We should have a regular army of a quarter of a million short-service men, which would give us a mobile army of 125,000 or 150,000 to deal with such exigencies as that which the feebleness of our government has brought about on the Mexican border at this moment. And this should be only the beginning. A

freeman must not merely hire others to do his fighting for him. If he wishes permanently to remain a freeman he must fit himself to fight for his own rights, that is, for his country's rights.

System Should Be Changed

I honor the National Guardsmen who are at the front. They have the true soldierly stuff in them. But the system under which they have been sent is an atrocious one, and should be changed at once. They have been tricked into going into what they supposed was a war on behalf of the country. When they entered the militia most of them had no idea that they would be conscripted as they have been. Their sense of honor has forbidden them to refuse going. But they should never have been sent for mere police duty; for remember that, thanks to Mr. Wilson's tame refusal to punish the Mexican bandits, we now have on the border a force of American soldiers from ten to twenty times as numerous as the bandits across the border; and yet this force does nothing. Many men have gone who have been obliged to leave their wives and children to suffer actual want, and who have permanently injured their professional or business careers, or definitely lost their jobs, because they had to go to the front and spend months away from their business, away from their homes, to make good the damage done by the utter folly of our rulers in Washington.

These rulers in Washington were not really interested in Preparedness. They were not really interested in the defense of their country. They thought only of their own political fortunes in the immediate future. They refused to give us expert military legislation. They gave us political military legislation; legislation designed to secure votes next November at the cost of the lives of the gallant officers and men of the regular army; at the cost of the lives of the civilians, men, women and children on the border, and in Mexico; and at the cost of the well-being of thousands of the families of national guardsmen who had themselves been sent to the Mexican border. The legislation of the last session should be repealed and the work of preparedness entered upon with serious purpose. The Hay military law

was evil from almost every standpoint. The system of militia pay which it embodied, taken in connection with its other features, made it an unworthy political expedient designed to transform the militia of the several states into a huge political machine, dangerous to the well-being of the country and of its citizen soldiery. Most regrettably this feature of the militia pay, in its present unwise form, and the other unwise features of the bill, are due in no small degree to the influence of a powerful militia body on the President and on Congress. This lobby represented not the military interests of the nation, nor the interest of the immense majority of the rank and file and junior officers of the National Guard, but the interests of a limited number of officers, most of them of higher rank. Replacing and repealing this law, we should have a law restoring the militia to its former status and establishing a system of obligatory universal military training and service under which we would avoid the cruel injustice and hardship inflicted this summer on so many thousands of the National Guardsmen who have been sent to the border—not to make war for the country, but to help Mr. Wilson wobble between feeble peace and feeble war until after election.

Universal Training and Service Needed

See that your representatives vote for a large and efficient navy and a small but efficient regular army. But always remember that in a free democracy no man should have the right to vote in the civil affairs of the country if he does not perform all the duties required by the country, not only in peace, but in war; and he cannot perform these duties in time of war unless he fits himself to perform them, unless he trains himself to perform them, in time of peace. I believe in universal military obligatory training of all our young men in time of peace; and, in time of war, in universal military service for every man and every woman in whatever position it is deemed that man or women can best render such service to the nation.

Federal National Guard Inadequate

The mobilization of the militia on the border has proved that the Federal National Guard is a broken reed from

the standpoint of National Preparedness, and represents no adequate national strength either to repel sudden attack or to carry on prolonged defensive warfare. The amiable pacifist who was chosen by Mr. Wilson, with his usual exquisite sense of entire military unfitness, to be Secretary of War, prattled with Bryan-like cheerfulness about how "mobilizations take place easily and need not be upon magnificent scale in advance." Then on June 18th, working on this theory of easy and unprepared-for mobilization, he commanded the entire National Guard to mobilize immediately. After ten days of maximum effort just twelve per cent. of the men were started for the border. Over thirty per cent. of the Guard were found to be unfit for duty. Many of the men who started for the border had never received a single day's training. Many had never fired a rifle. Most of the cavalry regiments had no horses. Half the artillery batteries had no guns. I know one division in which, after three months, ten per cent. of the men have not received their blouses and twenty per cent. have not received their rifles. Some of the regiments on the border have learned with wonderful quickness and are in fine shape. Some have made no improvement. A few have proved utterly worthless, because their officers were so untrained and so unfit for command that they could not teach and guide and help over difficulties and care for their men, who became little better than a mob. The best men in the best regiments on the border have profited much; have profited more than men who go to the excellent Plattsburg and similar military training camps have profited. But now, after over four months, a first-class National Guard officer, who is with his regiment on the border, writes me: "Here we have all the organized troops in the country on the border and they only total a very small force, part of which is ineffective; I should say that, after three months, we have between 50,000 and 75,000 useful troops in all." In other words, after three months we did not assemble an army fit to resist a single German or Japanese army corps, such as could be landed in New York in a fortnight or in San Francisco in a month. President Wilson has refused to read the dreadful lesson written in fire and blood across the face of

the world during the last two years and a quarter. He has left us shamefully unready to protect ourselves or do our duty by others.

What a National Guard Officer Says

The letter of the National Guardsman I have quoted above puts certain facts, in which I believe with all my heart, so clearly, that, coming as it does from a man in the field, I quote it:

"I am more and more impressed with the need of universal service, and its extreme desirability, even if it were not needed. With any kind of effective universal service we could, in the event of an emergency like the present, raise and officer half a million fairly well-trained troops without disturbing anything. Of course, I realize that we must keep the cartridge makers in their factories and the equipment makers all at their work, so that the troops in the field can be properly equipped and supplied. That should mean that every voter is card catalogued, so that in time of war you could tell whether he should be used as a general or a captain or a private or an equipment manufacturer or a railroad operator. They are all necessary and part of the organization of the country as it should be arranged.

"I am terribly afraid people will soon begin to say, 'Things are quieting down, we should get over our hysteria for preparedness.' That would be an awful calamity. We have been unable to handle the situations that have come up so far, which, thank heavens, have not been as serious as they might, but things will arise in the near future that we must be ready for or we will lose our ability to handle our own future destiny. We got our liberty by war and I think it may easily require war for us to preserve it.

"Even if universal service did not appeal as necessary I know it would be most desirable. Here I have seen men, undeveloped, slovenly, or natural butts of ridicule, in three months of proper military training made into strong, clean, self-respecting men. We could do that by the million annually if we had the chance. It would improve the whole type of the whole nation.

"Add to this, mixing all our people of all our different

classes under equal circumstances and conditions, and the help to democracy would be wonderful. The hard part would be the choice of officers, who must be educated and have the habit of command; and yet every one must be given the chance to rise if he really has the stuff in him."

Switzerland Should Be Our Model

This is only asking that we in this great Republic do what has been done for many decades in the little Republic of Switzerland. Switzerland is a more genuinely Democratic Republic than we are, and there is nothing that has helped her people more, physically, mentally and morally, or that has done more to perpetuate and increase the genuineness of her Democracy, than the universal training, of the kind I advocate, which her sons have received. So far from being militarism, this kind of universal training is a healthy and efficient antiseptic to militarism. An army so trained, which would consist of the citizenship of the country in arms, would never be used for aggression. Its only purpose would be for self-defense. Every intelligent lover of peace, every peace lover whose convictions spring from reason instead of from sheer hysterical timidity and folly, ought to welcome the calling into being of such a system. It is the very system which was demanded in the name of peace and humanity by the great French Socialist Juarez, who advocated it on the ground that while it would not guarantee nations against war, it would tend most strongly in that direction by creating a force efficient for defense and very unlikely to be used for offense.

Switzerland in the time of the Napoleonic Wars was trampled on by all of the surrounding belligerent nations, saw gigantic battles between them fought on its territory, and was finally annexed by one of them, and its young men drafted into her armies. The present war, one hundred years later, has seen her territory respected, although had she not been ready she would have unquestionably suffered the fate of Belgium. The reason for the difference is that one hundred years ago there was no universal training among her men, nor any aptitude for war on the part of the nation, which therefore fell a helpless prey to the

military powers. Now there is universal service; the people are trained to defend themselves; and because of the fact that they had been thus trained, that they were efficient, that they had prepared their strength, and were ready to use their strength, they were spared the necessity of using it. Also remember that this military training of the Swiss has enormously helped them in civic, social and industrial matters. It has increased each man's industrial capacity; it has taught him not to be slack and inefficient, to work hard, to be clean and punctual, to respect himself and to respect others. It has benefited him morally, mentally and physically. It makes him more lawabiding; it is more than a coincidence that relatively to their numbers there are in Switzerland but one-tenth as many homicides as in the United States.

Universal Training Beneficial in Peace

I advocate universal military training as much because of what it will mean to this nation in peace, as because of what it will mean to this nation in war. Washington said: "A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined." This is simply another way of saying that there should be universal obligatory military training for our young men; and surely we need the discipline, all of us, in civil life just as much as in military life. Such training is emphatically American, emphatically Democratic, emphatically anti-militaristic; and every young man who enjoys it will be a better citizen in time of peace, better able to hold his own, and more desirous of doing his duty by his fellows. At present only those who can pay for it can get such training and discipline. This is unjust. At present, in the event of the outbreak of war, the officers' commissions must, rightly and properly, be given to the boys who have fitted themselves for the jobs. Therefore under the present system, instead of having all the boys, without any regard to whether their parents are or are not people of means, treated alike and the best men made officers, we find commissions limited to those who can afford to pay for their training. Inevitably under present conditions, if a war came, a very much larger proportion of the officers would

be chosen from this class than from the class with less means. In addition to this, the shirk, the coward, the mere money getter, the creature without patriotism, would stay at home and would try for the job the patriotic man left when he went to the front. I have actually seen, even this summer, cases where men who have been sent to the front in the National Guard have had their jobs taken by men whom, I am sure, no mere appeal to patriotism would ever be able to get to the front.

The democratic thing is to give all of the men, rich and poor, a chance on equal terms to prove the stuff there is in them, so as to secure each man his rights. Then, in order to exact from each man the full performance of his duty, make the lazy man, the selfish man, the mere greedy money getter, the poltroon and the pacifist do their part of the work of war, when war comes, and run their full share of the danger, instead of sitting at ease at home to profit by the courage and self-sacrifice of their more patriotic brothers. This is imperatively needed, from the standpoint of the nation. It will secure our national efficiency in war. It will immensely help our individual efficiency in time of peace. It will benefit us individually in soul, mind and body. It will make the average man more self-respecting and law-abiding, better able to shift for himself, and to work for and in conjunction with others.

This training will be of immense consequence in increasing our power of collective action. There is no more thoroughly democratizing agent than the dog tent. Under such a system of universal training all the young men of the nation would for several months do the same hard, healthy work, and live together on the same terms. The son of the railroad president, and the son of the brakeman, the son of the farmer and the son of the lawyer, the son of the bricklayer and the son of the banker, would all have the same training, the same chance; and the officers would be chosen squarely on their merits from the boys best fit for the jobs. The most important feature will be the development of the officers, for whom, after they had been thus chosen from the ranks, there would need be a special training course established.

The Only Democratic System

Let all the young men go on the same hikes, and work in the same drills, let them become sergeants, lieutenants and captains in fair competition with one another; and let them understand and appreciate and make allowances for one another. The man who comes out from that training will in civil life be infinitely more fit to perform his duties as an American citizen. He and his fellows will be stirred by a more genuine patriotism. They will understand that there is no such thing as real patriotism save in so far as it connotes the spirit of sacrifice, of service, of comradeship and of brotherhood, of devotion to duty, and to lofty ideals. They will learn to put service first, duty first, country first, and to look with abhorrence and scorn on the man who puts safety first, ahead of duty and country. They will learn how to act with self-reliance and with self-control, and they will also learn how to accomplish most in acting with others, in disciplined fashion, in a spirit of brotherhood, and with the power to subordinate each his own case and enjoyment to the common welfare, the collective good. Such service would fit us for our duty in our collective tasks, political, social and industrial. We can best ensure the proper performance of these collective tasks of peace, in a spirit of justice, of generosity, and of mutual understanding, if the young men of this nation, on their entry to manhood, are trained as I have advocated.

Military preparedness is only the foundation of, and safeguard for, social and industrial preparedness; and therefore, for the effort to increase our individual efficiency and at the same time to see that the fruits of this efficiency are divided with reasonable fairness and justice.

Federal Civil Service Debauched

Mr. Wilson recently said that the supporters of Mr. Hughes included incongruous elements. The Democratic Party, with Mr. Wilson at its head, is itself composed of utterly conflicting elements with no sincere bond of union except the desire to secure Federal office. In consequence the internal legislation Mr. Wilson has obtained has had to be obtained by the exchange of offices for congressional

support; and, as a result, the Federal Civil Service has been debauched as never before, and Washington has witnessed the worst administration of the executive departments we have had for thirty years. If specifications are needed, I refer you to the statements of dispassionate, non-partisan experts in administration, such men as Gifford Pinchot, Lucius Swift and William Dudley Foulke.

There are certain things for which Mr. Wilson and his party claim credit where credit can only be awarded them by emphasizing the duplicity of their action. The banking law is a good law in certain of its provisions; but these provisions are those of the Aldrich bill, which before election the Democrats so frantically denounced. They denounced in similar manner a Tariff Commission and an Industrial Commission; and they are now in rather impotent fashion feeling after both. They have passed a Child Labor law (which is so drawn, however, that it may be utterly ineffective) after Mr. Wilson had emphatically declared against it. They champion a law which will make the needed revival of our shipping by private enterprise more difficult than ever. Their tariff law was working ruin to our industry until the war created an outside tariff more protective than any we have ever previously had.

Mr. Wilson has endeavored to satisfy both the professional pacifists and the men desiring preparedness, by persuading each side that he stood for something the other did not want. He is making a similar effort as regards labor and business. The President is astute and farsighted in his management of politicians for party and personal ends. He believes that the solid South will vote for anything with the Democratic label wholly without regard to the principle involved. The solid South is ultra-conservative; but inasmuch as in the South the negro and the poor white laborer are both of them unorganized, an appeal to the class followers of trades unionism in the North does not disturb Mr. Wilson's power in the South. In consequence the Democratic Party under Mr. Wilson's leadership seeks to develop as a radical labor party in the North, so as there to capitalize the labor vote, while remaining reactionary in the South, and endeavoring to reassure the big money interests

because of what the South can do in national matters. The result of such efforts cannot be for the ultimate good of the nation; but it is naturally attractive to politicians who think only of the moment's success.

On the other hand, we who are opposed to Mr. Wilson have a more difficult task, because we in good faith seek real solutions for our economic and social problems. We believe in organization. We understand the great value of corporate activities. We believe in enterprise and leadership. We do not appeal to envy and class antagonism as the Democrats under Mr. Wilson's leadership have done—for although Mr. Wilson was first schooled for the political race as a conservative who was to take advantage of the reaction against a wise radicalism, he promptly abandoned his former friends when he got into politics, and now stands as the champion of an unwise radicalism in those localities where he does not stand for mere bourbonism.

The Lack of Constructive Policy

The absolute lack of any constructive policy in Mr. Wilson's leadership comes out strikingly in his attitude toward business. His platform pledges, of course, amount to nothing on this point, or for that matter on any other point, but as far as they went they committed him, as did his promises, to the breaking up of all corporations, and the reintroduction of old-fashioned, ruthless, competitive methods in business—methods such as obtained in the middle of the last century. We were promised explicitly, four years ago, in the Democratic platform, and by the Democratic orators on the stump, that they would destroy all trusts by the utilization of the Sherman Law, and a tariff for revenue only, and would thereby lower prices and the cost of living. But prices and the cost of living have steadily gone up and Mr. Wilson has not invoked the Sherman Law against any big trust. The Sherman Law is on the books. It was a dead letter fourteen years ago. It became a live law only because of the success of the Northern Securities Suit. This suit established the vitally necessary principle that the national government had complete control over interstate business; but the establishment of this principle was about

all of any real use that was achieved under the Sherman Law. Great and important suits were won under it prior to Mr. Wilson's taking office; but the poor effects, or rather, non-effects, of these suits have shown that the Sherman Law offered no real method of doing away with the evils of corporate activities, while yet retaining what was good. There must be a totally different method of dealing with the problem. The case was admirably put by Mr. Hughes in his reply to Mr. Bryan on September 5th, 1908, when after a merciless dissection of Mr. Bryan's own proposals, he stated what our aim should be, as follows:

"It is the function of law to define and punish wrongdoing, and not to throttle business. In the fields of industrial activity the need is that trade should be fair; that unjust discrimination and illegal allowances giving preferential access to markets should be prevented; that coercive combinations and improper practices to stifle competition should be dealt with regardless of individuals; but that honest industry, obtaining success upon its merits, denying no unjust opportunity to its competitors, should not be put under prohibitions which mingle the innocent and the guilty in a common condemnation."

In other words, we believe in constructive regulation to free legitimate business from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation; while by means of a strong Federal administrative commission we prevent false capitalization, special privilege and unfair competition, including all unfair trade practices, such as agreements to limit output, refusing to sell to customers who buy from business rivals, using the power of transportation to aid or injure special business concerns, and the like. We do not fear commercial power, but we desire that it be exercised openly under efficient publicity, supervision and regulation. Together with such regulation and management of business we believe in effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, and involuntary unemployment; to the enforcing of minimum safety and health standards by means of the Federal control over interstate commerce and the taxing power; securing an effective prohibition of child labor (in my judg-

ment, preferably by the use of the taxing power); securing a living wage and an eight-hour day for working women, one day's rest in seven and the eight-hour day in continuous industry, and other such measures.

President Wilson has made no effort whatever to enforce the Sherman Law. Neither has he made any effort to change it. In one of his speeches he used a sentence which seemed to indicate that he regards the Federal Trade Commission as having the power to modify the Sherman Law. If this is what he meant, it is certainly not in accordance with the facts. Mr. Wilson is, however, a master of subtle indirection in speech, and this sentence, like so many of his other sentences, is perhaps susceptible of several different interpretations. In any event, neither he nor any one else can point out wherein the Federal Trade Commission has the power to modify the Sherman Law; or wherein the Sherman Law has been in any way changed by any legislation since he has been in office. He has not enforced it, but neither has he secured any modification of it. Unquestionably he should have followed either one course or the other. The only certainty about the Sherman Law, especially in view of the conflicting decisions in the lower courts as regards the Haryester Company and the Keystone Watch Case Company, is that its interpretation is surrounded by absolute uncertainty. But if Mr. Wilson's words about it mean anything—a rather wild supposition on my part, I admit—they mean that this law stands against modern co-operative methods.

At any rate, either the law is good, in which case it should be enforced everywhere, or else it is not good, in which case it should be modified to whatever degree is necessary in order to make it efficient against dishonest business and no longer a threat to honest business. Mr. Wilson has adroitly avoided doing anything one way or the other. He has left the law sleeping on the statute books, but liable to be revived against all business, good and bad alike, at any moment. He has left all of the dangers and difficulties just exactly where they were before. He and his party have done nothing to protect the people from the evils in business of which they have been complaining;

nothing to prevent over-capitalization, or stock watering or any other evil practice. In all of Mr. Wilson's utterances put together there is not one touch of the constructive statesmanship shown by Mr. Hughes in the single quotation above given.

Mr. Wilson, before election, announced that the trusts must be destroyed by state action. As Governor of New Jersey he secured the passage of the "seven little sisters" bills, which he asserted would put a stop to the evils of the trusts. They have not done so in even the smallest degree. The evils of the corporate system in the United States have been left absolutely unchanged and unremedied by anything that Mr. Wilson has done either as Governor of New Jersey or as President of the United States.

Mr. Wilson and World Trade

Nor is this all. Mr. Wilson has recently announced his desire, or, as he has put it, his "dream," that the United States shall "take her place in the great field of world trade." He has been appealing for the business vote by pointing out an alluring picture of the advantages and opportunities that foreign markets will soon offer. In his recent Omaha speech he said that we must "finance some of the chief undertakings of the world for ourselves." These words mean less than nothing so long as Mr. Wilson stands by his other words, uttered by himself and by his Secretary of State, announcing that American business men who went into Mexico did so at their own risk, and that he had no sympathy for them after they went; and that he would not try to protect them in their investments. Mr. Wilson never used weasel words of more significance than those two statements. Either his statement that we must "finance some of the chief undertakings of the world for ourselves" weasels all the honesty out of his statement that he is not interested in, and will not protect, American dollars in Mexico, which means, "the financing of some of the chief undertakings" of Mexico by Americans; or else the latter sentence weasels all meaning out of the first. Mr. Wilson has the right to say which of these two statements is the weasel, and which is the egg; but he cannot

deny that the relation between them is strictly that of the weasel and the egg. Mr. Wilson has said that he will furnish no protection to the business men who have made investments in Mexico; and for once his conduct on this point has made his words good, for he has not protected any man in Mexico, whether workingman, miner or rancher. Now, the country is entitled to know whether he really intends to reverse himself on this policy so far as countries outside of Mexico are concerned; and if so, why; and just what measure of protection he contemplates furnishing those business men who accept his rather dangerous invitation. The plainest construction of honesty and sincerity demands that he either reverse his Mexican policy or else announce that the only safe course for American business men in the future lies in avoiding the effort "to finance," or having any connection with, "the chief undertakings of the world" outside of the United States. There is no middle ground. I put this direct question to Mr. Wilson: Which of these positions does he take? Either he does not stand on his Mexican record, in which case he ought to admit the hideous and lamentable blunder of his whole Mexican policy for the last three and a half years; or else he does stand on his Mexican record, and if so his asking American business men to go into foreign markets is downright hypocrisy. If Mr. Wilson will, not by subtle and adroit evasion, but with downright straightforwardness, attempt to answer this question, I believe he will find the attempt very stimulating to what he calls his "intellectual processes."

The Proper Aim

So much for Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party. Now for ourselves. We who believe in protecting the legitimate interests of business men, in encouraging the great corporate instruments necessary for carrying on modern business, and in rewarding enterprises and leadership, must do all this for the very reason that we treat as of first importance the needs of labor. Our aim is to secure the maximum of good result for the average man, for the ordinary, decent, hard-working citizen. He is the man whom we have primarily in mind. The successful

business man is entitled to justice for his own sake; and moreover unless we grant him such justice we can do nothing for anyone else; but unless his profit is shared by farmer and workingman, by the ordinary man generally, our prime object is not achieved. We must see the corporate viewpoint; but we must see very much more than the corporate viewpoint. We must not offer to labor such empty solutions as are contained in the "New Freedom,"—which in practice is merely the old, old freedom of the strong to prey on the weak—or in the chance to coerce capital by sinister and improper action tending to the limitation of output. We must correlate the demand for the enjoyment of rights with the sense of obligation fully to perform duties. We must raise, collectively and individually, our industrial standard. We must develop the power of self-help; and we must supplement this power by the wise use of governmental power. We must ourselves organize, and furnish the use of, satisfactory state and national governmental machinery to accomplish those things that labor cannot accomplish for itself—and which it sometimes attempts to accomplish in ways that would be destructive to itself and to all of us. Bismarck carried such a programme through in Germany, with the result that Germany has achieved a literally phenomenal industrial success, together with an exceptionally high standard of average well-being. He deliberately undertook to better the conditions of industrial and social life, not by adding to the cost of production, but by eliminating waste and introducing scientific—that is, rational, skillful and efficient—principles into the work of production and of distribution. It was one prime object of his policy to see that business was successful, and business men of leadership rewarded; for otherwise the community would either stagnate or go backward, and nobody would get any reward at all. But it was also with him a prime object to secure for the wageworkers their legitimate share of the benefits, not only in wages, but in standard of living and in such ways as sickness insurance, old-age pensions, and the like. Germany is infinitely ahead of us in all of these matters. Germany gives better care, at less cost, to the workingman, in health and

in sickness, by her system of organization under government direction, and of organization by perfected private co-operation, than we do by our unregulated individualism. Under our system the workingman gets but one-third of what the German workingman gets in such a matter as compensation for injury. England is not so far ahead of us as Germany is. But even England's co-operative societies are immensely ahead of ours. In Denmark, and elsewhere on the Continent, the farmers' co-operative organizations have eliminated to an extraordinary degree the waste in the market.

National Life Must Be Reshaped

Neither demagogues nor doctrinarians can do such work, and least of all can it be done by the bitter preachers of class hatred. But mere tory obstructionists must not be permitted to stand in the way. Our strongest and ablest men are needed to give the lead in securing such national organization. We must apply under modern industrial conditions a programme that will lead to the fullest possible life for the great mass of our people. The very structure of our national life must be reshaped to meet the vast new needs, and it can best be remade in desirable fashion if the leadership is furnished by men of affairs who understand that, while they must themselves be encouraged and aided by the government, the encouragement and aid must be given on the condition of their helping to reshape a nationalized United States in such fashion that the farmers and wageworkers and ordinary business and professional men shall have their full share of the benefits. Our people generally must be made to feel that they share in the rewards of our world trade, so that it may be obviously to their interests to support a self-respecting and vigorous policy in international affairs, and to accept the discipline and duty of universal service. The wise employers must realize in the future that the productive power of our factories will ultimately depend upon the well-being no less than upon the zeal and good faith of our workers; and the education of our children along cultural and vocational lines must be so handled as to give us a trained, disciplined and

efficient manhood and womanhood. Our business men must co-operate heartily in the effort to secure statesmanlike leadership in support of the great programme of reconstruction in our nation, a programme in many respects such as that laid down by Bismarck when he organized the internal forces of his own nation. When this war is closed the questions of social and industrial justice will come more strongly to the front than ever before, because this war will have turned the European States into communities more modern than we ourselves are now. After this war, if we do not face the new conditions, we shall be the Old World, and Europe the New World.

The adroit demagoguery of the Democratic leaders offers worse than no solution of the problems affecting us. It behooves sincere and sane men of vision to do their part in offering a constructive programme. This programme must not aim at the destruction of business to gratify envy, nor at the diminution of the efficiency of labor in a spirit of narrow and bitter ignorance. It must seek to expand and reward business; it must seek to increase the efficiency and the output of labor; but it must also secure for labor its full share in the reward. Business can not permanently flourish unless the wageworkers and the farmers have ample opportunity to share in the rewards of our national effort.

Remember always this effort to secure for each man his rights will be a failure unless at the same time we insist upon the full performance of duty by each. Neither farmers, laborers, nor business men deserve any consideration for their rights save in so far as they fully and wholeheartedly recognize their duties to the State and to their fellows, and perform these duties.

TRUE AMERICANISM AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Chicago, Illinois, October 26, 1916

THERE are many things this nation needs, but the two vital things are, first, that it shall be a nation and, second, that it shall prepare itself in soul and body so that by its own strength it may guarantee to continue to be a nation. The reason that we hold Washington and Lincoln incomparably above all other Americans is that the greatness of one was shown in making this people a nation, and the greatness of the other in keeping it alive as a nation. In other words, the most vital of all issues are those of Americanism and Preparedness; and of these two Americanism must come first, for there is no use to prepare to defend or uphold the American nation unless there is an American nation to defend and uphold.

We may just as well definitely face the fact that no man can ever be a good American, no man can ever be a really first-class citizen of the United States unless he is an American and nothing else. Recent events have shown us that the effort to combine loyalty to this land with loyalty to any other can only result in weakening the loyalty to this country. Washington and Lincoln were of English descent, but they were not English-Americans. Their loyalty was undividedly and whole-hearted to the United States and to all of the people of the United States in every part thereof. In international relations they judged England precisely as they judged all other nations; that is, in any given crisis they judged every foreign nation exactly in accordance with its conduct in that crisis; they were as incapable of the meanness of unreasoning malice and hatred towards any particular nation as of the meanness of truckling to it and making its interests superior to our own. They set the standard of Americanism which all of our citizens should follow in

their relations with one another, in their attitude toward their own country, and in their attitude toward each and all foreign nations.

Americanism a Matter of the Soul

When I was a boy I received my first guidance in politics through the cartoons of that famous American cartoonist, Thomas Nast. There never was sounder Americanism preached than by Nast. His cartoons dramatized for us of that time the hideousness of political corruption, and the equal hideousness of political demagoguery. They dramatized for us, when I was a boy, the cruel injustice with which our public men too often treated the Army and Navy of the United States; indeed, it was he who first gave me the feeling of eager championship of the Army and Navy which I have ever since retained. It was an education in American patriotism for any boy or young man to study and follow the cartoons of Nast, as I and my fellows studied them forty years ago. Tom Nast was born in Germany, but he was no more a German-American than Lincoln was an English-American, or Grant a Scotch-American, or Phil Sheridan an Irish-American. Grant to an especial degree was his hero; and Grant once remarked that among civilians not holding public office no other man in the country had done as much for this nation as Tom Nast. The two men worked together in this fashion precisely because each was an American and nothing but an American. They looked at all our domestic questions, and they looked at all our foreign questions, from the American standpoint and from no other.

Later in life, when I was Police Commissioner in New York—not a silk stocking job, by the way—the man who was closest to me was Jacob Riis. He was by birth a Dane, but he was an American and nothing else. His loyalty to this country was undivided, and no man within our borders rendered more useful service, both to its body and to its soul. I could multiply such instances indefinitely. I mention these particular men only because I wish you to visualize just what I mean when I speak of Americanism. It does not depend upon the man's birthplace, it does not depend upon the man's creed. It does depend upon the man's

soul, and upon his possession of single-minded and whole-hearted loyalty to this country of ours.

Moral Treason to the Republic

To divide our citizens along politico-racial lines is to be guilty of moral treason to the Republic. I have condemned unstintedly, and shall continue to condemn, any effort by the professional German-Americans to shape our politics in the interests, not of the United States, but of Germany; and I would just as strongly condemn any effort to organize any of our citizens as English-Americans, or French-Americans, or Irish-Americans for or against any foreign power. It is our business now, as it was in the days of Washington, to treat each and every foreign nation in any given crisis according to that nation's conduct in that crisis, guiding ourselves by but two considerations: first, the honor and welfare of the United States, and, second, the interests of humanity as a whole. To follow any other course is to be disloyal to this country. To hold for this country only a half allegiance is in reality to be hostile to this country; for in practice when the crisis comes the man whose loyalty is on a fifty-fifty basis between this country and some other always shows that his loyalty to the other country comes first. There is no room in this country for the perpetuation of different nationalities. Unless we succeed in fusing all of our people into one thoroughgoing American citizenship, into one American type, it is as certain as fate that this nation will in the end be shattered into fragments. If we are content to remain or become a conglomerate of many different nationalities, each holding apart from its fellows, each with its real devotions and ideals in some spot overseas, and all united only as dollar hunters who live in the same boarding-house are united, we shall never really be a nation at all. And, my fellow citizens, remember that if such be the case, every individual in this nation will suffer in consequence. We can not attain our full stature as men except as we attain it through our common American nationality, and this is true of our political, our social, our literary and artistic life.

The modern man can accomplish but little singly, as an

individual. He can attain a broad life only if he is a citizen of a great nation. As in the days of St. Paul, it is today important to be a "citizen of no mean city." The advantages of modern science and modern tools, and of a great literature, and art, can be secured only as we stand together clasping the hands of our fellow citizens in a common loyalty to our nation. The strength and effectiveness of a nation, in its domestic affairs and in its international relations, are dependent primarily upon national solidarity and the loyalty and patriotism with which each individual is united to his fellows in their devotion to the flag which symbolizes this common country.

It is not really open to our people to remain representatives in good standing of the Old World countries from which they or their forefathers sprang. If they make the attempt they merely become second-rate transplanted Germans or Englishmen or Frenchmen, as the case may be; and the Germans, Englishmen or Frenchmen of the Old World, in their hearts, cordially despise and look down on these transplanted aliens, even though they make sinister use of them against the United States.

Allegiance Must Be Undivided

The only way for all of us, or for any of us, to achieve our own self-respect, and to deserve and win the respect of other nations, is by becoming Americans and nothing else. I ask those who believe that any other course is compatible with genuine loyalty to this country to read the letter from Professor Munsterberg of Harvard to Chancellor Bethman Hollweg, published in the New York Times of Oct. 10th. I grieved to see this letter; for Professor Munsterberg has long been my friend whom I have liked and respected; he has given much advice to Americans; and it was a matter of genuine regret to me to see this proof that he treated the well-being of America as negligible compared to the interests of Germany. In his letter he spoke of his purpose to aid Mr. Wilson, in view of the desirability of Mr. Wilson's offering himself as a mediator, in the furtherance of Germany's plans. His eulogy of Mr. Wilson as a peace arbitrator, however, has in it a touch of wholly unconscious

humor. He says: "If he once works himself into the idea of being the arbitrator of the world he will be so intoxicated by the joy of playing a historic part that he will give himself up to it with his whole soul and without rest. He will remain strictly neutral, less out of moral conscientiousness than from an aesthetic pleasure in his unique role." He then explains why in the interest of Germany, not the United States, he supports Mr. Wilson as mediator, and the pacifist, peace-at-any-price crowd, saying in part: "I hold it now to be my chief task here to encourage the pacifist sentiment now abroad, and so my main work consists in continually writing new essays and articles in favor of the preservation of peace and of Wilson's reputation as a mediator. All this peace material naturally appears without my name. Unfortunately, the peace call which Bryan was going to issue has found its way into the papers too soon." He then regretfully asserts that "it can not be denied that the German-American cause has suffered a most unexpected slump . . . German-Americans of all classes are suddenly endeavoring to accentuate their American tendencies—the *patriotic wave has swept all the weaker elements along with it!*" The italics of this last astounding sentence are my own. Dr. Munsterberg then continues by complaining that so many German-Americans are beginning to shape their policy "in America's, not Germany's, interest."

Two things are notable in this letter. The first is that Dr. Munsterberg is using his position in America to serve Germany, without regard to whether such service hurts or harms America. The second is something for which we must all feel devoutly grateful; for by the best possible testimony, that of an adverse and unwilling witness, Dr. Munsterberg shows that the professional German-Americans who put Germany above America can not carry with them the mass of Americans of German descent, who, on the contrary, when a crisis comes, are swept "by a patriotic wave," and act "in America's, not Germany's, interest." It is a tribute which I am sure that the immense majority of American citizens of German descent richly deserve. And the letter itself shows the absolute impossibility of successfully serving two masters. No man can be either, both an English-

man and an American, or both a German and an American. In each case he must be one or the other. No American is a good American unless he is absolutely undivided in his loyalty and allegiance, in word, deed, thought and spirit, to the United States.

Americanism is the first essential. Readiness for national defense is the second. At Denver I went over in detail what should be done from the military standpoint. To-day I wish to discuss Mr. Wilson's handling of the Navy.

Nine-tenths of Wisdom Is Being Wise in Time

In any matter where the man who criticises another has himself held the same office, it is right that the critic's record should be compared with his criticisms, so that his deeds and his words may be judged together. I ask you to remember that while I was President, in a message to Congress I held up to this nation as the model for action in a democracy the Swiss and Australian systems for universal military training for the young men. There was at the time no disturbance of any kind that demanded an increase in our regular army; and I confined myself as regards the regular army to the effort to make it more efficient. After the failure of The Hague Convention to limit the size of armaments or the size of ships, I made recommendations in my annual message of December, 1907, and sent a special message to Congress on April 14th, 1908, which, as statements of national and international needs and policies, apply exactly to-day. In these messages I supported the plan submitted by the General Board, of which the central feature was the provision of four super-dreadnought battleships a year. If these recommendations of mine had been acted upon and been since treated as a settled policy, and if the navy had been handled as it was then handled, our strength would now be such that there would be no fear of attack from any Old World power. Last spring, after three years of halting and folly, President Wilson turned a characteristic somersault and under the pressure of public opinion stood for substantially the same program for which I stood nearly nine years ago. The difference is that he was wise after the event and I before the event. Nine-tenths of wis-

dom is being wise in time! If Mr. Wilson had been willing to face facts when the great war broke out, and when even the blindest ought to have been able to read the awful lesson written in blood across the face of Europe, our navy and army would now be in such shape that, in the hands of a resolute man, they could guarantee our safety. This is not now the case, and on President Wilson's shoulders rests the entire responsibility for our lamentable failure.

One of the gravest offenses against the nation which has been committed by President Wilson and the Democrats in control of the two Houses of Congress during the last six years has been the handling of the navy. Seven years ago the navy had reached a point of efficiency, relatively to the other nations of the world, never before attained. In 1909 there was no other navy in the world at so high a point of efficiency and enthusiasm. This was at the time the battle-fleet returned from its voyage around the world, an event unparalleled in history, a feat no other nation had ever performed, a feat of incalculable service to this country alike from the standpoint of increasing our navy's efficiency, and from the standpoint of impressing the most powerful foreign nations with the fact that we desired to show friendship to all, but that we were ready at any moment to defend our rights from whatever quarter they might be assailed. The organization of the Navy Department was being remodeled under a commission composed of Admiral Mahan, Judge Moody, and other distinguished men who were outlining a new and effective plan to replace the antiquated and vicious bureau system.

Under the excellent administration of Secretary of the Navy Meyer the report of this commission was carefully considered and confirmed, and a good beginning was made in the aide system. Congress still lagged behind the Navy Department; nevertheless it continued the upbuilding of the navy. But when in 1910 the Democrats secured control of Congress, they immediately put a stop to the further building up of the navy, embarrassing Mr. Meyer's administration and preventing the fulfilment of his plans.

The Navy Brought Into Partisan Politics

Then President Wilson was elected, and he appointed as Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, a gentleman who, I have no doubt, is of amiable private character, but who is without one single qualification for his task; and whose appointment not only meant that President Wilson was entirely ignorant of the needs of the navy and entirely indifferent to them, but also that the navy, in his view, was of no consequence, except as it could be made an asset in unworthy partisan politics. By no possibility could the appointment of Mr. Daniels be taken to mean anything else. It has borne its full and natural fruit. Mr. Wilson has not only appointed and retained him in office but has specifically endorsed him. It is Mr. Wilson, not Mr. Daniels, who is ultimately responsible for every shortcoming in our naval, as in our military and international, policy.

Politics Preferred to Military Principles

The acts and policies of the Navy Department during the past three years have shown a determination on the part of Mr. Wilson's Administration to subordinate and ignore efficient professional and military agencies and influences, and to promote in every department afloat and ashore the rule of injustice, personal fads and improper political considerations in direct opposition to sound military principles. For two years the navy was not even permitted to engage in the fleet maneuvers and fleet target practice absolutely essential to its efficiency, and it was only the storm of public condemnation that forced Mr. Daniels finally to yield to the professional advice which he had previously ignored and permit a beginning to be made toward restoring at least the Atlantic squadrons to something resembling their old efficiency. The aide system established in order to co-ordinate the bureaus and emphasize purely military efficiency and preparedness was gradually abolished. The aides were not merely ignored, but punished when they endeavored to secure action on vitally important service matters. The conduct of the Department to Admiral Bradley Fiske offers the most striking proof of this fact. Instead of seeking his own personal comfort and profit by obsequiously

bowing to the men in political control of the navy, Admiral Fiske stood loyally and unswervingly for the interests of the service. In November, 1914, he wrote a really pathetic letter asking for action on the very points that subsequently met with the approval of the people and of Congress, as shown in the bills just passed. The present Administration now claims credit for passing these bills. The Administration never took the slightest action upon them until forced to do so by the people. Admiral Fiske's letter was suppressed, and was only published seventeen months later at the request of the Senate. In this letter the Admiral showed that we were unprepared and deficient in training, and yet Mr. Daniels, although thus warned and given opportunity to learn, in his annual report to Congress inverted the truth and misled the people.

The administration merely followed public opinion, after having sedulously tried to mislead it; and at that time not merely ignored Admiral Fiske's letters, but drove him from the Navy Department. His persistent attempts to secure attention for important matters submitted by the General Board met with repeated failure, and on at least one occasion his earnest and respectful effort to get proper consideration for subjects vitally necessary for the well-being of the navy earned him a severe reprimand and personal rebuff. Throughout the first three years, and until the growing concern and weariness of the people showed that it was no longer possible wholly to deceive them, the Administration never brought to the front or considered the question of the war efficiency or battle efficiency of the navy. It devoted its whole time to considerations of personal and partisan politics. Officers of the highest standing, whose letters I have seen, state that any visitor on personal and political business, any man with private ends to serve, whether in connection with supposed labor interests or supposed capitalistic interests, had a full hearing at the Department; but the men with the welfare of the navy at heart had none. Finally the Navy Department went back to the Bureau System, which all of the best naval officers for thirty years have condemned as absolutely impossible under the modern conditions of war, and which has been aban-

done by every first-class navy in the world. The administration of the Navy Department was left in the hands of the Secretary and his personal appointees, a plan which meant the personal control of the navy by civilian politicians, in opposition to all military principles; and this was done with the full and hearty backing of President Wilson. The very points where there has been improvement in the navy have been in cases such as that of the organization of the office of operations, which was forced through by a prominent Congressional leader with the zealous assistance of Admiral Fiske, and in direct opposition to the Navy Department. The Administration opposed military control of the navy yards, and sought to substitute political and civilian influences and in some of the appointments this result has, lamentably for the navy, been achieved. The retention of useless navy yards, which forms one of the best illustrations of pork barrel politics, has been favored. Favoritism and unfairness have prevailed in handling the personnel. When zealous officers, single-minded in their devotion to the navy, have pointed out defects for improvement, they have in turn been reprimanded, and this whether the man concerned was at the head of the submarines, or was an admiral who had to do with the management of fleets. It is only under the flail of a partially aroused public opinion that this matter has been in a measure corrected during the last nine months.

Such Official Tyranny Never Before Existed

Before entering into power Mr. Wilson announced that he was going to insist on "pitiless publicity," but as a matter of fact we have never had an Administration where there has been so much furtive and underhand work. The recent letter of Mr. Richard H. Dana shows this as regards the civil service. It has been the case especially in the navy and army, where the tyranny over officers, to prevent them from expressing their opinions on those military matters which they are most competent to discuss, has been such as never before obtained in time of peace in this country. I know personally of instance after instance where officers have been refused permission to express themselves on such sub-

jects as universal military training, or on matters vital to the welfare of the navy, or where they have been rebuked for so expressing themselves. I could give the names were it not that I would invite punishment upon the men concerned.

There are certain matters, however, which have been made public. Admiral Fiske was refused permission to address the Commercial Club of Chicago on our naval needs. It was announced in the press that the President of the Naval War College was severely reprimanded for an admirable paper on naval needs read before the Efficiency Society of New York. The Naval Institute was refused permission to publish an article of great value on the enlisted personnel which won honorable mention. Under the present administration the only publicity permitted was what would promote the personal and political self-advertising of the Administration. In no monarchical country of Europe has such a despotic rule been known. In Great Britain officers freely discuss naval needs and policies, and if the people of this country were alive to the needs of the navy in this matter, they would never for an instant tolerate the deception concerning the true conditions of the navy through the tyrannical smothering of the truth in the interests of the politicians who now direct our navy. It is peculiarly easy for a political leader in high public office to mislead our people about the navy, if he is either a doctrinaire or a politician. It is a branch of the public service concerning which there is need of expert knowledge; and therefore the public can readily be misled by leaders willing to sacrifice the welfare of the nation in the future to considerations of party politics in the present.

Harm Done to the Navy

More harm has been done to the navy by the politicians in power during the last three years than in the preceding thirty. Whatever good has been accomplished in the navy during the last three years has been done by naval officers, who in most cases have been snubbed and punished for their proposals as long as it was safe to do so; whereas Mr. Daniels now turns and claims credit for what was thus forced upon

him. For example, in 1915, the General Board demanded 19,000 men, and yet the Administration asked for only 10,000 men. During the years of peace immediately preceding the present Administration some 14,000 men had been added to the navy, although at that time there was no special strain on the navy. After 1913 the strain became acute, thanks to the Mexican trouble and the great war. The proof of this is the action of the Administration in at last proposing a great increase of the navy; for the considerations that justify and require this increase became as strikingly evident two years ago as they are now. The action of Congress and the Administration now in doing what all true friends of the navy have for years demanded can be justified only if we unhesitatingly condemn them for not having taken this action two and a quarter years ago, at which time even the blindest ought to have seen the need.

For three years after this Administration took office it refused seriously to prepare, or even to recommend serious preparation, although repeatedly asked to do so by the best naval experts. Shore stations were stripped of men, and ships placed out of reserve for lack of men to man new ships. Confusion and inefficiency followed. The 27,000 additional men authorized in the present navy bill were allowed by Congress on the testimony of officers, and in direct opposition to the Navy Department.

In short, throughout President Wilson's term there has been neglect or positive maladministration in connection with departmental organization in navy yard, aeronautics, mines and torpedoes, and in all other matters affecting the efficiency of the fleet and the enthusiasm of its officers and men. Every improvement and every advance has been forced upon an unwilling Navy Department by the people enforcing their desires through Congress, or else by officers of the navy; and these officers have received no credit for their self-sacrificing efforts, and in some cases have been actually rebuffed or punished. The activity and energy of the Navy Department under President Wilson have been primarily concentrated upon schemes aimed at vote-getting or advertising. Strict military considerations affecting the efficiency and morale of the officers and enlisted men were neglected

and thrust aside until the public feeling rendered it imperative that some attention should be paid to them.

Had the progress that had been made in our naval affairs prior to the incoming of this Administration been continued; had the advice of Admiral Fiske and other such officers been heeded during the last three years of stagnation and political domination, our navy would now be in first-class shape. The past three years have been the most important in world history for a century, and in our history for fifty years, and after August, 1914, our needs were so evident that it was a crime against the nation to disregard them. But the present Administration took no action whatever until, with the opening of the present political campaign, it became politically unsafe longer to delay.

Under Mr. Wilson and Mr. Daniels the conditions in our navy have closely paralleled the conditions in the French Navy a dozen years ago. A capital French book, published in 1904 from the soundest patriotic motives, describes what was done in the French navy just prior to that time, under an incompetent civilian head who made it his business to lessen the efficiency of the fighting forces of the navy by treating the navy as primarily a political asset, and also using it to advance injurious fads. All intelligent observers of foreign affairs knew at that time that the French navy was in a state of demoralization, for that was in the period when the professional pacifists gained an influence in French administration, which, if it had not been speedily overcome, would have resulted in the absolute, complete ruin of France. The widespread demoralization in the navy of France when it was dominated by irresponsible politicians who treated it primarily as an asset in partisan politics bears an ominous resemblance to what has occurred in connection with the mishandling of our own navy under President Wilson.

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

Cooper Union, New York, November 3, 1916

New York, Oct. 24th, 1916.

*Honorable Theodore Roosevelt,
en route, Denver, Colorado.*

It is our conviction that no other Presidential campaign in the history of the United States has presented graver issues or more far-reaching problems than does this. Not only is the domestic welfare of the nation profoundly to be affected by the result, but the honor and the very safety of the Republic are at stake.

Upon the character and the policies of the next Administration will depend the course of the United States during its most critical years. As business men and as loyal citizens we are deeply concerned in aiding to bring about a decision that will restore sound principles and true Americanism to the conduct of our national affairs.

In this momentous hour the vital need is for such a presentation of the issues as will arrest the widest attention and carry the clearest message to the public mind. And this task we commend to your hands.

No living American has a greater audience. Already you have done memorable service to your country in awakening it to a sense of its perils and obligations, and you have revealed an unselfish patriotism that makes your voice singularly potent in counsel and inspiration. Will you not lend it to the cause once more, by addressing the people of the nation from the vantage ground of a great mass meeting in the metropolis? Under these circumstances a message from Theodore Roosevelt on "America's Crisis" would ring from coast to coast, and might be the final means of avoiding a calamitous decision at the polls.

The undersigned suggest Cooper Union as the place,

and an evening during the week of October 23d-28th as the time. Severally and unitedly we urge upon you acceptance of this great opportunity for public service.

JOHN G. SHEDD, Chicago, Ill.
R. LIVINGSTON BEEKMAN, Providence, R. I.
CHARLES CURTIS HARRISON, Philadelphia, Pa.
WILLIAM BARBOUR, New York.
ANDREW D. WHITE, Ithaca, N. Y.
JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, Somerville, N. J.
DARWIN P. KINGSLEY, New York.
MYRON T. HERRICK, Cleveland, Ohio.
HORATIO C. KING, Brooklyn, N. Y.
DAVID JAYNE HILL, Rochester, N. Y.
JOHN B. FARWELL, Chicago, Ill.
FREDERICK TALCOTT, New York.
JOHN WANAMAKER, Philadelphia.
HAMILTON FISH, Garrison, N. Y.
CHARLES SUMNER BIRD, East Walpole, Mass.
JULIUS ROSENWALD, Chicago, Ill.
GEORGE C. RIGGS, New York.
H. J. HEINZ, Pittsburgh, Pa.
ISAAC N. SELIGMAN, New York.
WARNER MILLER, Herkimer, N. Y.
NATHAN T. FOLWELL, Philadelphia, Pa.
THOMAS R. PROCTOR, Utica, N. Y.
TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY, Detroit, Mich.
LLOYD GRISCOM, New York.
SYLVESTER S. MARVIN, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

I am glad to speak in this historic building, at the request of men of such high standing as those who have asked me to speak; and I thank them for having asked me to speak on the most vital of all present-day questions, the "Nation's Crisis," a crisis preeminently moral and spiritual.

There can be no greater misfortune for a free nation than to find itself under incapable leadership when confronted by a great crisis. This is peculiarly the case when the crisis is not merely one in its own history, but is due to some

terrible world cataclysm—such a cataclysm as at this moment has overwhelmed civilization. The times have needed a Washington or a Lincoln. Unfortunately we have been granted only another Buchanan.

The appeal is made on behalf of Mr. Wilson that we should not change horses in crossing a stream. The worth of such an appeal is not obvious when the horse, whenever he comes to a stream, first pretends he is going to jump it, then refuses to enter it, and when he has reached the middle alternately moves feebly forward and feebly backward, and occasionally lies down. We had just entered the greatest crisis in our history when we “swapped horses” by exchanging Buchanan for Lincoln; and if we had not made the exchange we would never have crossed the stream at all. The failure now to change Mr. Wilson for Mr. Hughes would be almost as damaging.

Washington and Lincoln confronted crises of different types, and therefore in any given crisis it is now the example of one, now the example of the other, which it is most essential for us to follow. Each stood absolutely for the National ideal, for a full Union of all our people, perpetual and indestructible, and for the full employment of our entire collective strength to any extent that was necessary in order to meet the nation's needs. Lincoln had to deal with vital questions of internal reform, and with the overturning of internal forces tending toward the destruction of the Union. Washington had to deal primarily, not only with the creation of our Union, but with the maintenance of our liberty against all adverse forces from without. This country must learn the lessons taught by both careers, and must apply the principles established by those careers to the ever-changing conditions of the present, or sooner or later it will go down in utter ruin.

The lesson of nationalism and therefore of efficient action through the national government is taught by both careers. At the present moment we need to apply this principle in our social and industrial life to a degree far greater than was the case in either Washington's day or Lincoln's.

The expansion of our people across the continent has gone hand in hand with their immense concentration in

great cities, and with gigantic changes in the machinery of communication, transportation, and production; changes which have worked a business revolution almost as vast as that worked by all similar revolutions put together since the the days of the Roman Empire. Therefore we are now forced to face problems not only new in degree, but new in kind. We must face these problems in the spirit of Washington and Lincoln; but our methods in industrial life must differ as completely from those that obtained in the times of those two great men of the past as the weapons of warfare now differ from the flintlocks of Washington's soldiers, or the muzzle-loading smooth-bores of Lincoln's day. We must quit the effort to meet modern conditions by flintlock legislation. We must recognize, as modern Germany has recognized, that it is folly either to try to cripple business by making it ineffective, or to fail to insist that the wage-worker and consumer must be given their full share of the prosperity that comes from the successful application and use of modern industrial instrumentalities. Both capitalists and wageworkers must understand that the performance of duties and the enjoyment of rights go hand in hand. Any shirking of obligation toward the nation, and towards the people that make up the nation, deprives the offenders of all moral right to the enjoyment of privileges of any kind. This applies alike to corporations and to labor unions, to rich men and poor men, to big men and little men.

There can be no genuine feeling of patriotism of the kind that makes all men willing and eager to die for the land, unless there has been some measure of success in making the land worth living in for all alike, whatever their station, so long as they do their duty; and on the other hand, no man has a right to enjoy any benefits whatever from living in the land in time of peace, unless he is trained physically and spiritually so that if duty calls he can and will do his part to keep the land against all alien aggression. Every citizen of this land, every American of whatever creed or national origin, should keep in mind the injunction of George Washington to his nephews, when in his will dated July 9th, 1799, he bequeathed to each of them a sword, making the bequest in the following words:

"The swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheathe them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defense, or in defense of their country and its rights; and in the latter case to keep them unsheathed and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof."

These are noble words. Remember that they gained their nobility only because the deeds of Washington had been such that he had a right to utter them. His sword had been sheathed until he drew it on behalf of national liberty and of humanity, and then it was kept unsheathed until victory came. His sword was a terror to the powers of evil. It was a flame of white fire in the eyes of those who fought for what was right.

Washington loved peace. Perhaps Lincoln loved peace even more. But when the choice was between peace and righteousness, both alike trod undaunted the dark path that led through terror and suffering and the imminent menace of death to the shining goal beyond. We treasure the lofty words these men spoke. We treasure them because they were not merely words, but the high expression of deeds still higher; the expression of a serene valor that was never betrayed by a cold heart or a subtle and selfish brain. We treasure what Washington enjoined on his blood-kin as their duty when they should inherit his swords; but we do so only because Washington's own sword never slipped from a hand made irresolute by fear. We treasure the words that Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg, and in his second inaugural; words spoken with the inspiration of a prophet of old, standing between the horns of the altar, while the pillars of the temple reeled round about. The words spoken by Lincoln were spoken when he was weighed down by iron grief, and yet was upheld by an iron will, so that he stood erect while the foundations of the country rocked beneath his feet, and with breaking heart and undaunted soul poured out, as if it were a libation, the life blood of the best and bravest of the land. We cherish these words of his only because they were made good by his deeds. We remember that he said that a government dedicated to freedom should

not perish from the earth. We remember it only because he did not let the government perish. We remember that he said that the bondman should be free at whatever cost. We remember it only because he paid the cost and set the bondman free.

When Lincoln accepted the nomination of the Republican Party in 1860, he spoke of the platform of that party as follows:

“The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard them in any part.”

This was a short statement. It derived its value from the fact that it was a promise that was kept. I ask you to compare this record of Lincoln's with the cynicism shown by Mr. Wilson at different times in repudiating almost every promise he has ever made on any matter of vital importance. He has repudiated the promises of the platform on which he was elected. He has repudiated the promises he made on the stump to further his own election. He has now repudiated about all the promises which he has made since he became President.

I have been assailed because I have criticised Mr. Wilson. I have not said one thing of him that was not absolutely accurate and truthful. I have not said one thing of him which I did not deem it necessary to say because of the vital interests of this Republic. I have criticised him because I believe he has dragged in the dust what was most sacred in our past, and has jeopardized the most vital hopes of our future. I have never spoken of him as strongly as Abraham Lincoln in his day spoke of Buchanan and Pierce when they were Presidents of the United States. I spoke of him at all, only because I have felt that in this great world crisis he has played a more evil part than Buchanan and Pierce ever played in the years that led up to and saw the opening of the Civil War. I criticise him now because he has adroitly and cleverly and with sinister ability appealed to all that is weakest and most unworthy in the American character; and also because he has adroitly and cleverly and with

sinister ability sought to mislead many men and women who are neither weak nor unworthy, but who have been misled by a shadow dance of words. He has made our statesmanship a thing of empty elocution. He has covered his fear of standing for the right behind a veil of rhetorical phrases. He has wrapped the true heart of the nation in a spangled shroud of rhetoric. He has kept the eyes of the people dazzled so that they know not what is real and what is false, so that they turn, bewildered, unable to discern the difference between the glitter that veneers evil and the stark realities of courage and honesty, of truth and strength. In the face of the world he has covered this nation's face with shame as with a garment.

I hardly know whether to feel the most burning indignation at those speeches of his wherein he expresses lofty sentiments which his deeds belie, or at those other speeches wherein he displays a frank cynicism of belief in, and of appeal to, what is basest in the human heart. In a recent speech at Long Branch he said to our people, as reported in the daily press, that "You cannot worship God on an empty stomach, and you cannot be a patriot when you are starving." No more sordid untruth was ever uttered. Is it possible that Mr. Wilson, who professes to be a historian, who has been a college president, and passes for a man of learning, knows nothing either of religion or of patriotism? Does he not know that never yet was there a creed worth having, the professors of which did not fervently worship God whether their stomachs were full or empty? Does he not know that never yet was there a country worth living in which did not develop among her sons something at least of that nobility of soul which makes men not only serve their country when they are starving, but when death has set its doom on their faces?

Such a sentence as this could be uttered only by a President who cares nothing for the nation's soul, and who believes that the nation itself puts its belly above its soul. No wonder that when such a doctrine is preached by the President, his Secretary of War should compare Washington and Washington's soldiers with the bandit chiefs of Mexico and their followers who torture men and murder children,

and commit nameless outrages on women. This sentence is as bad as anything Secretary Baker himself said. I call the attention of these apostles of the full belly, of these men who jeer at the nation's soul, I call the attention of President Wilson and his Secretary of War and his Secretary of the Navy, to what Washington said of his own soldiers when he spoke of them in a letter to Congress on April 21st, 1778:

“Without arrogance or the slightest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet, and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy without a house or a hut to cover them till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled.”

That is what Washington said. Does Mr. Wilson think that these men of Valley Forge were not patriots, because they were starving? Is his own soul so small that he cannot see the greatness of soul of Washington and of the Continental soldiers whose feet left bloody tracks upon the snow as they marched towards the enemy? They were clad in rags; their eyes were hollow with famine; their bodies were numbed with cold and racked with fever; but they loved their country; they stood for the soul of the nation and not for its belly. Mr. Baker and Mr. Daniels have done evil to this country only because they stood where their master, Mr. Wilson, had placed them. Mr. Baker has preached the doctrine of contempt for the men of the Revolution only because he has followed the lead of the President, who says

that religion is merely a matter of a full stomach, and that patriotism vanishes when heroes feel the pinch of famine. I call your attention to these statements not only because they are foul slanders on everything that is good in human nature, not only because they are a foul slander on every American worth calling an American, but because they show the character of Mr. Wilson himself.

So much for Mr. Wilson when he says what he really feels. Now a word about what he says when he speaks what it is quite impossible that he really believes. On last Saturday afternoon, with an effrontery that is literally dumbfounding, he said that when he "started in one direction" he "would never turn around and go back," and that he "had acted upon this principle all his life," and that he "intended to act upon it in the future," and that he "did not see any obstacle that would make him turn back." Why, his whole record has consisted in turning back at every point when he was bidden to do so by either fear or self-interest. He has reversed himself on almost every important position he has ever taken. There is not a bandit leader in Mexico who does not know that if he can show enough strength he can at any moment make Mr. Wilson not merely turn back, but humbly kiss his hand; kiss the hand that is red with the blood of our men, women and children. Mr. Wilson says that he "never turns back!" Why, he has been conducting his whole campaign on the appeal that he has "kept us out of war"; and yet last Thursday, without a moment's notice, and only ten days before election, after having been going full speed in one direction, he turned around and went full speed in the reverse direction on this very point; saying, forsooth, that if there was another war we must not keep out of it! He has been claiming credit because in the case of Belgium he has preserved a neutrality that would make Pontius Pilate quiver with envy; and yet in this speech last Thursday he said that never again must we be neutral! He has kept us absolutely unprepared; so that now we are as absolutely unprepared, after he has been in office three and a half years, as we were when he took office; and yet he now says that we must enter the next war whenever one comes! He has looked on without a single throb of his cold heart,

without the least quickening of his tepid pulse, while gallant Belgium was trampled into bloody mire, while the Turk inflicted on the Armenian and Syrian Christians wrongs that would have blasted the memory of Attila, and he has claimed credit for his neutral indifference to their suffering; and yet now, ten days before election, he says the United States must hereafter refuse to allow small nations to be mishandled by big, powerful nations. Do it now, Mr. Wilson! If you mean what you say, Mr. Wilson, show that you mean it by your action in the present.

There is no more evil lesson that can be taught this people than to cover up failure in the performance of duty in the present by the utterance of glittering generalities as to the performance of duty in the nebulous future. With all my heart I believe in seeing this country prepare its own soul and body so that it can stand up for the weak when they are oppressed by the strong. But before it can do so it must fit itself to defend its own rights, and it must stand for the rights of its citizens. During the last three years and a half, hundreds of American men, women and children have been murdered on the high seas, and in Mexico. Mr. Wilson has not dared to stand up for them. He has let them suffer without relief, and without inflicting punishment upon the wrongdoers. When he announces that in some dim future he intends to stand up for the rights of others, let him make good in the present by now standing up for the rights of our own people. He wrote Germany that he would hold her to "strict accountability" if an American lost his life on an American or neutral ship by her submarine warfare. Forthwith the Arabic and the Gulflight were sunk. But Mr. Wilson dared not take any action to make his threat effective. He held Germany to no accountability, loose or strict. Germany despised him; and the Lusitania was sunk in consequence. Thirteen hundred and ninety-four people were drowned, one hundred and three of them babies under two years of age. Two days later, while the dead mothers with their dead babies in their arms lay by scores in the Queenstown morgue, Mr. Wilson selected the moment as opportune to utter his famous sentence about being "Too proud to fight." Mr. Wilson now dwells at Shadow Lawn.

There should be shadows enough at Shadow Lawn; the shadows of men, women and children who have risen from the ooze of the ocean bottom and from graves in foreign lands; the shadows of the helpless whom Mr. Wilson did not dare protect lest he might have to face danger; the shadows of babies gasping pitifully as they sank under the waves; the shadows of women outraged and slain by bandits; the shadows of Boyd and Adair and their troopers who lay in the Mexican desert, the black blood crusted round their mouths, and their dim eyes looking upward, because President Wilson had sent them to do a task, and had then shamefully abandoned them to the mercy of foes who knew no mercy. Those are the shadows proper for Shadow Lawn; the shadows of deeds that were never done; the shadows of lofty words that were followed by no action; the shadows of the tortured dead.

The titanic war still staggers to and fro across the continent of Europe. The nations engaged in the death wrestle still show no sign of letting up. Some time in the next four years the end will come, and then no human being can tell what this nation will have to face. If we were ready and able to defend ourselves and to do our duty to others, and if our abilities were backed by an iron willingness to show courage and good faith on behalf both of ourselves and of others, not only would our own place in the world be secure, but we might render incalculable service to other nations. If we elect Mr. Wilson it will be serving notice on the world that the traditions, the high moral standards, the courageous purposes of Washington and Lincoln have been obscured, and that in their stead we have deliberately elected to show ourselves for the time being a sordid, soft and spineless nation; content to accept any and every insult; content to pay no heed to the most flagrant wrongs done to the small and weak; allowing our men, women and children to be murdered and outraged; anxious only to gather every dollar that we can, to spend it in luxury, and to replace it by any form of moneymaking which we can follow with safety to our own bodies.

We cannot for our own sakes, we cannot for the sake of the world at large, afford to take such a position. In

place of the man who is now in the White House, who has wrought such shame on our people, let us put in the Presidential chair the clean and upright Justice of the Supreme Court, the fearless Governor of New York, whose whole public record has been that of a man straightforward in his thoughts and courageous in his actions, who cannot be controlled to do what is wrong, and who will do what is right no matter what influences may be brought against him.



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